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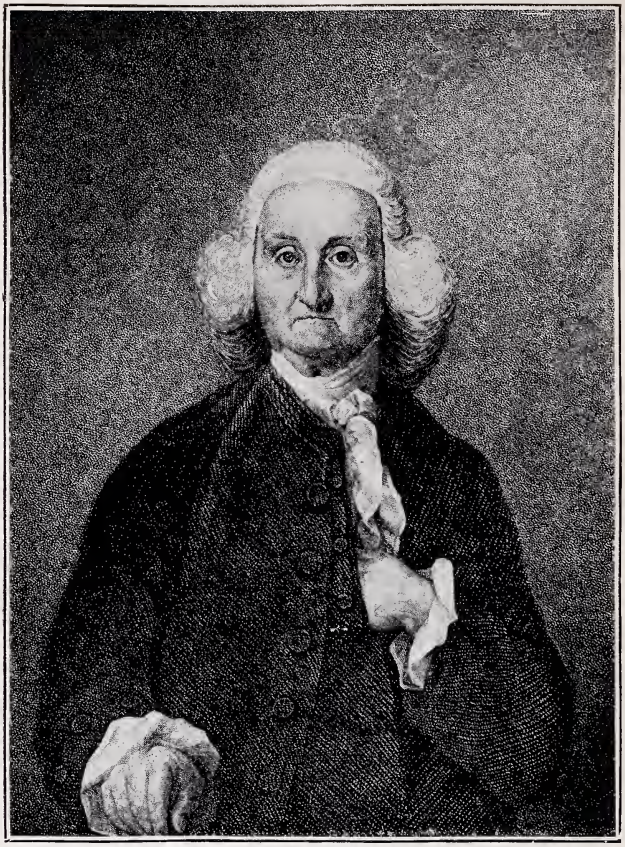

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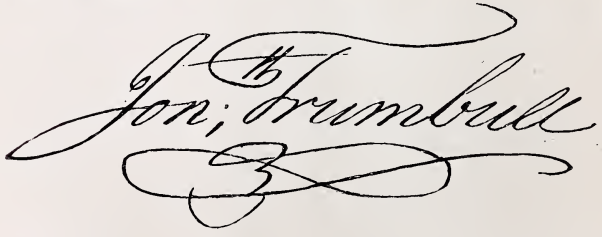

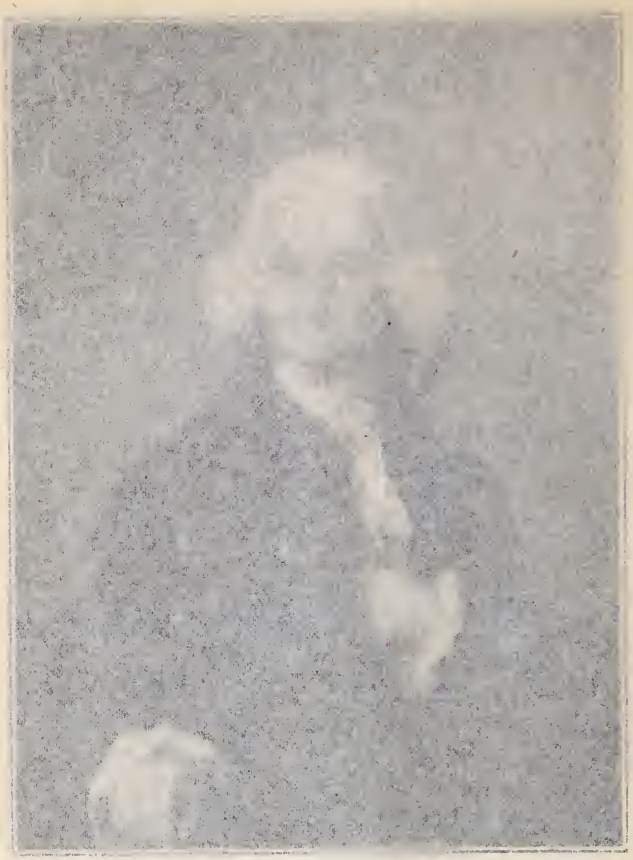

From the painting by John Trumbull

Jon. Trumbull

CONNECTICUT

AS A COLONY AND AS A STATE, OR ONE OF THE ORIGINAL THIRTEEN

BY

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THE ORIGINAL THIRTEEN COLONIES

CHAPTER I

The Coming of the Storm

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IN a reply to the rather inquisitorial questions of the Lords of Trade and Plantations, after a delay of about fifteen months, Governor Fitch reports, among other things, that in 1762, the number of inhabitants of Connecticut "are found to amount to 141,000 whites and 4,950 blacks, or thereabouts," an increase of about 10,788 whites since 1756. Anglo-Saxons, with their inbred and inborn love of freedom, made practically the sum-total of the white population at this time. For just a century these people had been living under the liberal charter of 1662, which had granted to them, as Rhode Island's charter had granted to the people of that colony, autonomy with the sole exception of custom-house administration. At the same time, the ecclesiastical atmosphere and control which was the norm of the New England colonies varied so widely that Connecticut was sharply contrasted with Rhode Island, and stood unique as a compromise between the religious liberty of that colony and the rigid ecclesiasticism of Massachusetts. This unique ecclesiastical position could not fail, the times being ripe, to become an equally unique political position. In 1762, the times were ripening to bring about this result.

Among the 141,000 whites reported by Governor Fitch to the Lords of Trade, the love of the rugged soil from which their living was wrung, the habit and love of self-government, the traditional prudence, industry and success of the people had become rooted and grounded in their political life. Up to this time, their diplomacy and statesmanship had been almost exclusively devoted to their internal affairs, although they had been ably represented in the Albany Congress of 1754, and in earlier synods and conventions of the United Colonies. But in 1762, the attitude of the home government

was such that they were soon to join in a common cause with the other American colonies of Great Britain. Even joining, heart and soul, as Connecticut did in this common cause, she had a marked faculty for doing it in her own thorough, conservative way.

It was well known at this time that His Majesty's officers of the customs had applied for writs of assistance in Massachusetts, which writs Chief Justice Thomas Hutchinson had granted against the eloquent appeals of Otis, and in opposition to the sentiments of the people. It was also well known that the general policy of the home government involved plans for increased revenue from the American colonies, already impoverished by their large contributions of men and money in the late wars. Although we learn of no applications for writs of assistance at this time in Connecticut, the colony, notwithstanding the temperate and diplomatic tone of its official replies to the Lords of Trade, was keenly alive to the situation, as may be seen from her position some six years later, when Chief Justice Jonathan Trumbull, unlike his Harvard classmate Thomas Hutchinson, refused to issue writs of assistance on the application of the officers of the Crown, with which decision the General Assembly declined to interfere. In view of the odious nature of these writs, it is quite probable that the Puritan conscience was not as sharply pricked by the act of smuggling as by some other violations of law which were, from time to time, publicly confessed in Connecticut churches; for the officers of the customs were appointed by the Crown, and were, no doubt, for this reason excluded from close connection with the rest of the community, who were free to manage their own affairs through officers and organizations of their own choice.

Tradition tells us that when the news of the proposed Stamp Act arrived in 1763, the General Assembly, in a most secret, careful manner, appointed three of its ablest disputants to argue against the right of Great Britain to tax the colonies, and three equally able disputants to argue in favor of this right. The result appears to have been an overwhelming defeat for the latter three; and though the pledge of secrecy was doubtless well kept, the facts became known until they grew into a long-cherished tradition, which it can hardly be expected that documentary evidence will ever support, either through official records or private journals or correspondence. The proceedings accord so well with the way of Connecticut in first getting firm convictions and then proceeding from the courage of those convictions, that it can hardly be dismissed as a myth for lack of evidence. Presumptive evidence of its truth certainly appears in the proceedings of the General Assembly at its May session in the following year.

One of the earliest resolves in this session appoints Ebenezer Silliman, George Wyllys, and Jared Ingersoll a committee to assist the Governor "to collect and set in the most advantageous light all such arguments and objections as may be justly and reasonably advanced against creating and collecting a revenue in America, more particularly in this Colony, and especially against effecting the same by Stamp Duties, &c."

In pursuance of this appointment, Governor Fitch and his committee presented at the following session a paper entitled "Reasons why the British Colonies in America should not be charged with Internal Taxes, by Authority of Parliament; humbly offered for consideration, in behalf of the Colony of Connecticut." This very able state paper, in pre-

senting the views which its title implies, meets all the arguments against these views in a way to show that both sides of the question had been fully discussed, if not in the traditional secret debate, certainly in the sessions of the committee which drafted the paper. At the time of the adoption of this paper by the General Assembly for presentation to the British Parliament, Jared Ingersoll, one of the committee which assisted Governor Fitch in drafting it, was about to sail for England, and was appointed to confer with Richard Jackson, the agent of the Colony, regarding its interests in the important matter of taxation. That Ingersoll faithfully performed this duty there is no doubt, in view of the correspondence in the matter. It is reported that Lord Grenville, after reading the "Book of Reasons," praised the tone in which it was written, and admitted that the arguments it contained were the best he had seen, but fallacious. It is said also, that it is to Ingersoll that we owe the preservation of Colonel Barré's famous speech in Parliament in reply to Townshend. But neither the impassioned oratory of Barré, nor the temperate but searching arguments of Connecticut's "Book of Reasons," coupled with Governor Fitch's official appeal, could avail against the passage of the Stamp Act. This odious measure passed the House of Commons on the 22d of March 1765, and it is said to be through Ingersoll's intervention that its enforcement was postponed until the following November. The idea that its enforcement would be resisted by the colonies appears never to have occurred to the English people. Even Benjamin Franklin, who was then in England, shared in this view, and advised Ingersoll to accept the office of stamp-master for Connecticut, a newly created office under appointment by the Crown. For once in his life Franklin was mistaken; and Ingersoll, returning to Connecticut late in

1765 with his commission in his pocket, was also misled by his own view of the situation, strengthened by Franklin's equally mistaken view.

Meantime the requirements of the Stamp Act made it obligatory on every governor of the American Colonies to take an oath to cause "all and every of the clauses [of the Act] to be punctually and *bona fide* observed." The limit of time for administering this oath was fast drawing to a close when Governor Fitch called his council together for that purpose. When at last the issue was reached, and it was proposed to administer the oath, probably after a heated debate, Jonathan Trumbull, Eliphalet Dyer, Hezekiah Huntington, Elisha Sheldon, Matthew Griswold, Shubal Conant, and Jabez Huntington—naming them in the order adopted by Stuart, Trumbull's biographer—indignantly withdrew from the council, refusing to witness the ceremony, which, as Dyer insisted, was "contrary to the oath the Governor and Council had before taken to maintain the rights and liberties of the people." A minority of the council to the number of four remained; and as the oath could be administered by three members, the number was sufficient, and the hateful ceremony was performed. The political future of Governor Fitch, able, intelligent, and faithful though he was, was fatally poisoned by this event. Notwithstanding a carefully prepared pamphlet which he issued in due season for the next election, giving his reasons for his course, he failed to retain his office, and even a quaint political ballad issued before the following election proved of no effect in restoring him to office.

Equally fatal to the political career of Jared Ingersoll was his acceptance of the office of stamp-master. Upon his arrival in New Haven he found the people in a ferment.

Since we know how a popular catchword applied to the object of its wrath can work upon an excited crowd at such a time, we may well imagine that the ingenious suggestion that Ingersoll's initials and those of Judas Iscariot were identical caught the ear of the people, and soon brought their wrath to a white heat. The all-potent town meeting, the arbiter of Connecticut's political convictions, brings its full force to bear upon him. On the 17th of September, 1765, he is requested, by vote of the town, to resign his office at once. We cannot fail to admire his resolute stand, as he tells the people that he will apply to the General Assembly for confirmation in his office, and forthwith sets out for Hartford for this purpose. Governor Fitch accompanies him on a part of his journey, but before reaching Wethersfield, Ingersoll, riding alone, finds himself silently accompanied, at first by a few men, next by a reinforcement of thirty or so, and at last by a force of about five hundred, armed with staves from which the bark had been peeled to render them conspicuous. This force was composed of men of eastern Connecticut, under the leadership of John Durkee of Norwich. They had adopted the name Sons of Liberty, which, singularly enough, Ingersoll himself had probably furnished them in his report of Colonel Barré's ringing speech in the British Parliament. On reaching Wethersfield, a halt was called, and Ingersoll was requested then and there to resign his office. The parley which ensued shows no small firmness on his part; but such was the determined and ominous attitude of the Sons of Liberty that he at last signed a paper stating that he resigned of his "own free will and accord," remarking, as he signed it, "the cause is not worth dying for."

There is no doubt that an unfortunate accident which disabled Colonel Israel Putnam at this time was a sore trial

to this sturdy hero, who was one of the leaders of the Sons of Liberty, and upon whom the command of the expedition against Ingersoll would probably have devolved. His substitute—if he was a substitute—in this command, Major John Durkee, was a man of the same heroic mould as Putnam, having served with him in the French and Indian wars. We hear of Durkee, later, at the battles of Long Island, Harlem Heights, White Plains, Trenton and Monmouth, in Wyoming (see Vol. 1), and in Sullivan's campaign against the Iroquois.

If Putnam did not have the satisfaction of witnessing Ingersoll's resignation, he soon afterwards had an opportunity of performing some rather important service in stamping out the Stamp Act in Connecticut. His biographer and contemporary, General David Humphreys, reports an interview of Putnam's with Governor Fitch which certainly left no doubt in the Governor's mind of the results of any attempt on his part to enforce this odious measure; for Putnam insists in this interview that unless the stamped paper which may be placed in the governor's hands is locked up in a room the key of which shall be given to "us," and if access to this room should be refused, the governor's house "will be levelled with the dust in five minutes."

At a special session of the General Assembly held in September, 1765, Eliphalet Dyer, William Samuel Johnson, and David Rowland were appointed commissioners to the congress to be held in New York in the following October, to adopt petitions of the united colonies for the repeal of the Stamp Act. A portion of the instructions given to these commissioners reads thus:

"In your proceedings, you are to take care that you form

no such junction with the other Commissioners as will subject you to the major vote of the Commissioners present."

Under these instructions, and with no power to do more than to report the action of the Stamp Act Congress, the commissioners were prevented from signing the petitions adopted, and thus Connecticut does not appear as a party to them. William Samuel Johnson, however, was one of a committee at this congress to draw up a petition to the King. Upon the report of the commissioners, the General Assembly, at its session in October, promptly voted to adopt as its own the several petitions to the King and to Parliament, and to forward these petitions to Richard Jackson, the agent of the Colony, with instructions to use them to the best possible advantage.

This rather peculiar action on the part of Connecticut forms a striking example of the faculty she had acquired by long experience of adopting measures of the kind in her own way. Although it appears in this instance like a refinement of conservatism, there can be no question as to the effectiveness of the method adopted, for the petitions were doubtless touched by the royal hand or "spurned by the royal foot" at the same time with the originals adopted by the Stamp Act Congress. Coming, too, as a repetition of these originals under the independent action of a colony which had already presented a very able petition on its own behalf, this way of presentation must have been a gain rather than a loss of influence.

The clergy and the town meeting had already practically moulded public opinion. Perhaps no single influence was as potent as that of the Reverend Stephen Johnson of Lyme, who with the assistance of John McCurdy succeeded in publishing under various pseudonyms and anonyms a series of ar-

ticles in the New London Gazette, beginning in September 1765, which were widely read and reprinted not only in Connecticut, but in other colonies, eloquently urging resistance to the Stamp Act. And as far westward in the colony as Stamford, we find the Reverend Noah Welles preaching to a similar effect.

Of the town meetings, the most notable early record to be found is in Norwich on the 7th of April 1765, and reads as follows:

"Whereas a question arose in the mind of the Clerk of this town soon after he was chosen, whether or no he might with safety proceed in his office on the report of an act of Parliament imposing Stamp papers, &c. Wherefore it is unanimously agreed to a man in a full town meeting and it is hereby desired that the clerk proceed in all matters relating to his office as usual;— And the town will save him harmless from all damages he may sustain thereby."

Turning again from the eastern to the western portion of the colony, we find the citizens of Litchfield County, in a combined town meeting held in February, 1766, resolving "That the Stamp Act is unconstitutional, null and void, and that business of all kinds go on as usual." In other parts of the colony, as in the town of Windham, for example, on the 26th of August 1765, Jared Ingersoll was hung and burned in effigy, together with others supposed to be officially connected with the then proposed enforcement of the Stamp Act.

Instances like these might be multiplied; but it is enough to say that Connecticut was thoroughly aroused, and thoroughly alive to the injustice of the measure, which, owing to the liberal privileges enjoyed by the people under their charter, bore more heavily upon them than upon others more

accustomed to royal control. Nearly seventy-five years before this time Governor Benjamin Fletcher of New York, in a rather prejudiced report to the home government, had stated that the cry, "No taxation without representation" was often heard in Connecticut.

The repeal of the Stamp Act was celebrated by an address of thanks to the King, and by a public thanksgiving on the 23d of May 1766, and for some years afterwards Connecticut resumed her usual peaceful attitude, but with eyes and ears alert for every item of news from her less fortunate neighbor, Massachusetts. When the non-importation agreements were entered into, and the committees of correspondence organized, no colony performed her promises and duties more faithfully than Connecticut. And when the Boston Port Bill was enacted, supplies of all kinds were liberally forwarded for the relief of the people of the nighboring colony whom Lord North vainly supposed he could starve into submission.

No plainer indication of the will of the people at this time can be found than in the election of William Pitkin to succeed Thomas Fitch as governor in 1766. Pitkin and his entire council were well known to be opposed not only to the Stamp Act itself, but to its enforcement after it became a law. At the death of Governor Pitkin in 1769, Jonathan Trumbull, whose sentiments had been clearly defined in his refusal to witness the administering of the Stamp Act oath, was elected to fill the vacancy. He was destined, as we shall see, to play an important part in the history of his native colony and state through the long period of the Revolution and the events which led to it. He was at this time fifty-nine years old, and had had an experience of more than thirty years in public life, holding at the same time for nearly

all this period positions as a judge in the County Court and the Superior Court. At the time of his election he had failed in the large mercantile ventures in which he was engaged; and his failure and political views were used by his opponents as arguments against his election, apparently with such success that he did not receive, in 1770, a majority of the freemen's votes, but he was elected by the General Assembly under the Act providing for such cases. The quaint political campaign ballad of 1769 to which reference has been made, after reciting in verse the merits of the various governors beginning with Winthrop, closes with the following stanza, "Will" meaning Governor Pitkin, "his Purser" meaning Jonathan Trumbull, then candidate for governor, and "Pitch" meaning ex-governor Fitch:

"Now Will is dead, and his Purser broke,
I know not who'll come next, Sir;
The Seamen call for old Pitch again;—
Affairs are sore perplexed, Sir.
But the Gunners and some midshippers
Are making an insurrection,
And would rather the ship should founder quite
Than be saved by Pitch's inspection.

Chorus.

"But this is what I will maintain,
In spite of Gunners and all, Sir,—
If Pitch can save the Ship once more,
'Tis best he overhaul her."

The "Gunners," no doubt refer to such men as Israel Put-

nam, John Durkee, and other leaders opposing Fitch, and the "Seamen," are intended to represent his supporters.

At this time William Samuel Johnson was in England acting for Connecticut in the then celebrated Mohegan case, in which the tribe of Indians which gave the name to the case attempted, at the instigation of the Mason family, to enforce claims for land of which they alleged that they had been unjustly deprived. While this case was, during this and the two following years dragging its tedious course through the British tribunals, Johnson was, while waiting the issue, in faithful attendance at Parliament, and in constant correspondence with Governor Trumbull regarding the measures discussed and adopted concerning the American colonies. Perhaps the most important result of this correspondence was the repeal by Connecticut of an independent colonial import duty which she had, in her own independent way, imposed on all foreign goods imported into the colony by non-resident merchants. At about this time some hopes were entertained that the differences between the colonies and the Mother Country would be amicably adjusted, and no means were left unused which might attain that end without sacrificing the rights of freemen. At the same time the then recent reduction of £500,000 in the British land tax was something which the intelligent men of this colony did not propose to compensate by the payment of the duties imposed by the Townshend Act. Non-importation strictly observed, followed; committees of correspondence were promptly formed, the Boston tea-party, and the Continental Congress followed, and the stupid policy of George III. and his sycophants soon resulted in "the shot heard 'round the world."

CHAPTER II

Commencement of Hostilities

AT the time of the battle of Lexington no colony showed a more complete and careful organization than Connecticut. For a full year before this time the militia had, by direction of the General Assembly, perfected its organization and discipline. The town meetings, too, had not been idle; and a very important part of their business had been to collect munitions of war and to hold them ready for any emergency. In October 1774, the selectmen of the various towns of the colony had been required by the General Assembly to provide a double quantity of powder, balls and flint, and additional training duties were required of the militia in the following January.

Before the echo of the last shot at Concord had died away, Israel Bessel was despatched with orders to spread the news "quite to Connecticut" that hostilities had begun, and all persons were requested "to furnish him with fresh horses as they may be needed." The news had reached New London and Windham Counties by the 20th, and New Haven by the 21st. From thence swift post-riders soon carried the tidings to the extreme western part of the colony, and to New York. The effect appears to have been an instantaneous uprising, and the hurrying forward of troops to the scene of action. Within eight days of the receipt of the news at New Haven, Captain Benedict Arnold, in command of the Second Company of Governor's Foot Guards to the number of fifty-eight men, had reached Cambridge. This company had been chartered by the General Assembly on the 2d of March 1775, and has fully maintained its organization to this day. The First Company of Governor's Foot Guards is the only military organization of longer standing, having been chartered in October 1771. This com-

pany also enlisted at a later date in a body, as volunteers in the Burgoyne campaign of 1777. Having reached Rhinebeck on their march to the front, they were met with the news of Burgoyne's surrender; and as their services were not needed, they returned home. The despatch of the Second Company was hastened by Arnold's summary demand for ammunition and supplies, which was at first refused as being irregular, but soon granted, upon his evidently sincere and emphatic statement that he would take them by force if he could get them in no other way.

In various other portions of Connecticut similar organizations or even squads of men hurried forward to the front, either by direction of a colonel, a captain, or in some cases even a pastor with members of his flock, as in the case of the Reverend Nathaniel Eells of Stonington. The number of men who marched at this alarm cannot be accurately stated; but in the judgment of those best qualified to make the estimate, the number was not less than four thousand. The population had now grown to 191,392 whites, according to the census of 1774. The short term of service of the men who marched at the Lexington alarm was promptly paid for by act of the General Assembly in the following May, although they had gone to the "relief of people in distress" without authority from that body.

On receipt of the news from Lexington on the 20th of April, Governor Trumbull at once called a special session of the General Assembly, which convened on the 26th. It was a session characteristic of patriotism tempered by the traditional conservatism and prudence which we have already noted. It opens with an embargo on the removal of provisions from the colony, followed by the appointment of William Samuel Johnson and Erastus Wolcott to wait upon

General Gage at Boston, with a letter written by the Governor; and almost in the same breath six regiments are mobilized. At the same time, while an embassy is being sent to treat with General Gage and persuade him to abandon his hostile attitude, a semi-private party, consisting of Samuel Wyllys, Jesse Root and Ezekiel Williams of Hartford, Samuel Bishop, jr., and Adam Babcock of New Haven, Samuel Holden Parsons of New London, Silas Deane of Wethersfield, William Williams of Lebanon, Charles Webb of Stamford, Joshua Porter of Salisbury, Thomas Mumford of Groton and Christopher Leffingwell of Norwich, are supplied with money from the treasury of the colony, on their personal notes, with which money they equip the expedition to Ticonderoga, under Captain Edward Mott of Preston, Captain Noah Phelps of Simsbury and Bernard Romans, a foreigner, then residing in Hartford, who proved somewhat troublesome.

Here then we have in this unique little commonwealth, negotiations for peace, active preparations for war, and the equipment and, as it resulted, the entire responsibility and credit for the first offensive military operation of the American Revolution.

The result of the embassy to General Gage was peculiar. Johnson unwillingly undertook the duty assigned him, and later reported privately—for there was no General Assembly in session on his return—that he and Mr. Wolcott had, with some difficulty, found General Gage, and held an interview with him, in which strong hopes of peace and reconciliation were held out; but on returning to Charlestown they found their horses missing, and found themselves in the hands of the sheriff, who haled them before the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, where, after a somewhat searching examin-

ation, they were allowed to proceed to their homes. The public official action of Massachusetts was more conciliatory, consisting, as it did, of a letter to Connecticut deprecating in courteous terms the course pursued. In the meantime John Adams had paid a visit to Connecticut which had strengthened the hands of the people, if they needed strengthening; the embassy to General Gage appears to have been forgotten, and its only recorded result is the very diplomatic reply of that gentleman, which may be read in the Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut, vol. 14; p. 442, or in Force's American Archives, 4th ser. vol. 2; p. 482, where may also be found Governor Trumbull's letter to which this is a reply. In March of the same year, Governor Trumbull had also addressed a letter of similar purport to the Earl of Dartmouth, by vote of the General Assembly.

If the peace negotiations thus independently undertaken by Connecticut showed no result beyond needless alarm in Massachusetts, these negotiations were none the less important in crystallizing public opinion, and in establishing a conviction that the time for a treaty of peace with Great Britain could only come at the close of a fierce and long struggle. From this time forward we shall see but little, if any further independent attempts on the part of this little commonwealth to conduct the affairs of the war, but we shall see if we read events in their true light, how this same sense and exercise of individual power contributed to concerted action among the original thirteen states. Perhaps no more striking instance of this altruistic spirit of harmony in the common cause can be found than in the attitude of Connecticut in the Susquehanna case. In 1775, we find Governor Trumbull writing to our agent in London to refrain from pressing the

case, and later in the same year writing to the president of Congress requesting that measures be taken to put a stop to the controversy introduced by Pennsylvania regarding it, in the belief that nothing should be allowed to prevent harmonious action among the colonies at this critical time. The Susquehanna case could wait; but the struggle for liberty could not wait.

The successful surprise and capture of Ticonderoga occurred on the 10th of May 1775. There is less dispute regarding the claim of Connecticut to the full credit for this undertaking than in some other affairs of this eventful year; but as some Massachusetts historians assert the claims of their own state, it is well to get at the facts. On the 28th of April, a self-constituted "committee" composed of Samuel Wyllys, Silas Deane, Samuel Holden Parsons, Christopher Leffingwell, Thomas Mumford and Adam Babcock, who were afterwards joined by others whose names have been already stated, secured the first installment of money from the treasury, and despatched Noah Phelps and Bernard Romans from Hartford with authority to raise men as near the scene of action as possible. Captain Edward Mott followed on the 29th, taking with him Jeremiah Halsey, Epaphras Bull, William Nichols, Elijah Babcock and John Bigelow, and arrived at Salisbury on the 30th, joining Phelps and Romans, and by a few recruits augmenting the company to sixteen. On arrival at Bennington, they proceeded, as Mott's diary says, "to raise men as fast as possible." Among the men thus raised were Colonel Ethan Allen and about one hundred Green Mountain Boys who had had some experience in border skirmishing with New York authorities, and recognized Allen alone as their leader. On the 8th of May the plan of attack was formed, and the command en-

trusted to Allen, and on the same evening Benedict Arnold appeared, exhibiting a commission from the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts which empowered him to take charge of an expedition for the capture of Ticonderoga. This command was refused him, not only by the Green Mountain Boys, but by the Connecticut men as well, and Arnold at last consented to act as a volunteer in the expedition. Fort Ticonderoga was taken in the early morning of May 10th under the ringing demand of Ethan Allen "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," or words to that effect, though the first session of the second Continental Congress was yet to come.

Arnold, upon his arrival at Cambridge had so urged upon Warren and others the necessity for taking this fort, that a commission had been granted him by Massachusetts for that purpose, on the 3d of May. He had enlisted no recruits at the time of joining the Connecticut expedition and attempting to assume command of it. The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts on receiving the news of the bloodless victory of May 10th, promptly requested Connecticut to hold the fort "until the advice of the Continental Congress could be had," and Colonel Hinman's regiment was soon despatched from Connecticut for the purpose.

Some accounts of this expedition have been written in such a way as to lead to the inference, at least, that Ethan Allen and his men had independently planned a similar expedition of their own. It is impossible, after a careful search, to find evidence sustaining this view. On the other hand, Allen readily accepted a document issued by Edward Mott, "chairman of the Committee," stating that

"Whereas, agreeable to the Power and Authority to us given by the Colony of Connecticut, we have appointed you

to take command of a party of men to reduce and take possession of the garrison of Ticonderoga and its dependencies, and as you are now in possession of the same— You are hereby directed to keep the command of said garrison, for the use of the American Colonies, till you have further orders from the Colony of Connecticut, or from the Continental Congress."

Under this commission, if it may be so called, Allen reported to Governor Trumbull, and to the Massachusetts Congress, which body informed Colonel Arnold that, "as the affairs of that expedition began in the Colony of Connecticut," the General Assembly of that colony had been asked to take charge of the captured fort.

Seth Warner, who, like Allen was a native of Litchfield County, Connecticut, was unavoidably detained from sharing in the honors of the capture of Ticonderoga; but on the same day proceeded to Crown Point in command of a small company, and had the satisfaction of taking that stronghold by surprise. This was not a difficult, though none the less an honorable achievement, as the garrison consisted of twelve men with a sergeant in command. To Arnold belongs the honor of capturing St. Johns with its simliar garrison of twelve men under a sergeant.

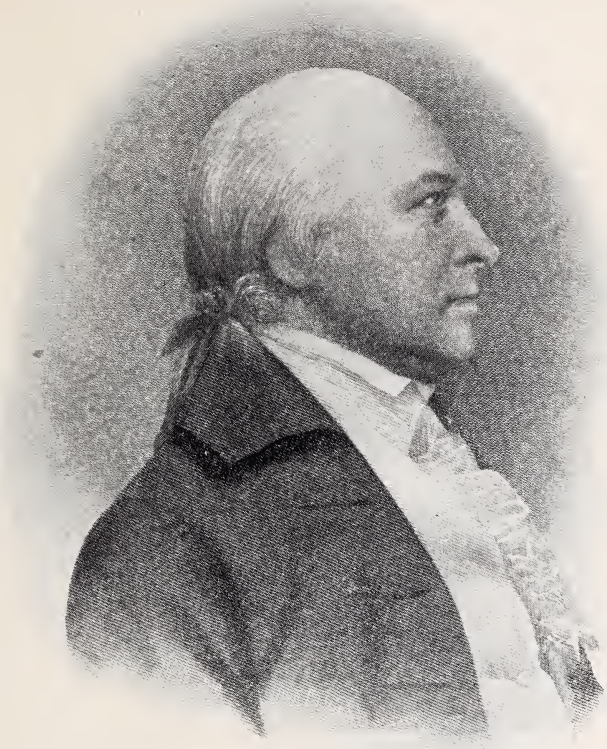
Thus the control of the important positions commanding Lake Champlain was accomplished, through the instrumentality of Connecticut, without the loss of a single life, and with the result of placing in the control of the Americans some three hundred pieces of artillery and a large quantity of other much needed military stores.

During the special session of the General Assembly in April, 1775, Captain Joseph Trumbull, eldest son of Governor Trumbull, was appointed Commissary-General for Con-

necticut. It is quite probable that to him is due, as much as to any one man, the homely but honorable title of the Provision State which Connecticut acquired during the Revolution. His appointment by the General Assembly sent him at once to the scene of action, where supplies for his troops were being purchased and forwarded. The measures taken at this time to organize the Connecticut commissariat attracted the attention of Washington at once upon his arrival at Cambridge. His watchful eye and keen military insight recognized the importance of this department so thoroughly that it is best to let him speak for himself in an extract from his letter of July 10th to the President of Congress, which reads as follows:

"I esteem it therefore, my duty to represent the inconvenience which must unavoidably ensue from a dependence on a number of persons for supplies, and submit it to the consideration of Congress whether the public service will not be best promoted by appointing a Commissary-General for these purposes. We have a striking instance of the preference of such a mode in the Establishment of Connecticut, as their troops are extremely well provided under the direction of Mr. Trumbull, and he has at different times assisted others with various articles. Should my sentiments happily coincide with those of your honors on this subject, I beg leave to recommend Mr. Trumbull as a very proper person for this department."

The appointment was immediately made by Congress, and Colonel Joseph Trumbull commenced a career, the difficulties of which neither he nor the great Washington could have foreseen. The reconciling of local jealousies; the conflicts of authority with subordinate commissaries, some under appointment by Congress and others by their own colonies; the



John Hallowell

difficulties of buying supplies without money, all confronted the new Commissary-General. And when, in 1777, the Congress adopted an absurd plan for reorganizing the commissary department, resulting in the terrible winter at Valley Forge, and placing a control in Congress which should have been left in the field, Colonel Trumbull indignantly resigned, remarking that it should not be said that he would accept a sinecure, or that he was the first pensioner of the Revolution. He died in the following year, broken down by the perpetual strain of cares and fatigues which his faithful service had brought upon him, as truly a martyr to the cause of liberty as the soldier who falls in the forefront of battle. In April of this year, 1778, Congress practically reestablished the original organization of the commissary department, and Jeremiah Wadsworth, another Connecticut man, was appointed Commissary-General. We find him commended in several letters written by Washington to the President of Congress, in 1778 and 1779, and though, in the latter year, he thought seriously of resigning, he appears to have remained in the service through the war.

It was by no means solely by furnishing men for the administration of the commissary department of the continental army that Connecticut gained her title as the Provision State. Geographically her situation was such that provisions could be drawn from her more safely and with less liability to military interference than from any other source. The rich farming lands of the Connecticut valley, and even the more rugged, less productive farms of the hill towns and seaboard towns furnished rich sources of supply in agricultural products such as an army needs. The almost uniform loyalty of the people to the common cause, and their zeal in the support of that cause, rendered them, as a people, liberal contribu-

tors of supplies, though they were often so liberal contributors of men as well that it was, at times, almost literally true that only old men, boys and women were left to till the fields and raise the crops and live stock which were to support the army. The fact that the two Commissaries-General who served through the entire war, except for a short interval of disorganization in the commissary department, were Connecticut men, gave them peculiar advantages, too, for drawing upon the ample resources of their State.

CHAPTER III

Connecticut's Share in Military Operations in 1775

OF the Connecticut men of note who responded to the Lexington alarm, none can be found who reached the scene of action as promptly as that dashing old hero and veteran, Israel Putnam. In speaking of him at all, it is difficult to untangle the real truth from the mesh of controversy and contradictions in which historians have involved his career. Beginning with his receipt of the first news of Lexington, Bancroft informs us that Putnam was, at the time, building a stone wall; but his son, Daniel Putnam, who was an eye-witness, informs us that he left his plow in the furrow, and set off at once. Here again, one historian tells us that he departed for Lebanon, to get directions from Governor Trumbull, and another tells us that the Governor gave him the first news of the Lexington fight. As we go on in his career, these contradictory statements multiply in number and increase in importance, making it a prime necessity for him who would do justice to this worthy patriot and hero very carefully to weigh and sift the evidence regarding the many deeds and exploits of his active and inspiring career.

Certain it is that he reached Concord on the 21st of April 1775, for we find him writing from that town on that date, with the information that six thousand men are expected from Connecticut, which number, as we have seen, were promptly mobilized. From that time forward, it is hardly too much to say that he seems to have been the life of the undisciplined, unorganized army whose headquarters were at Cambridge; superintending fortifications, and keeping the raw troops employed in various ways, because, as his son says, "experience had taught him that raw and undisciplined troops must be employed in some way or other, or they would soon become vicious and unmanageable." From this, we find him in

command of the celebrated night raid on Hog Island and Noddle's Island. We find him, too, at the meetings of the Massachusetts Council of Safety and Council of War, recommending the fortifying of Bunker Hill, which General Ward and Dr. Warren oppose, but which Colonels Prescott and Palmer favor. When it was learned that the British, with their constantly arriving reinforcements, intended at once to occupy Dorchester Heights and possibly Bunker Hill itself, the Fabian policy of General Ward gave way to the arguments of Putnam and Prescott, and it was decided that one of these two commanding positions should be occupied, fortified, and held if possible. Bunker Hill was chosen, and Prescott, preceded by Putnam, marched on the night of June 16th with one thousand men, and so far carried out his instructions that he threw up earthworks during this night on the neighboring position since known as Breed's Hill.

In the battle which followed on the next day, Prescott, in compliance with orders, bravely held the redoubt on Breed's Hill, and Putnam, whose provincial rank made him Prescott's superior, directed the movements of the forces outside of Prescott's works, ordering works to be thrown up on Bunker Hill on the morning of the 17th, and directing a rough line of defense to guard against flanking movements of the enemy. At this line was stationed, among others, Captain Thomas Knowlton, with two hundred Connecticut men. The breastworks consisted of a rail and stone fence hastily stuffed with hay and such other material as could be gathered together in the emergency. Putnam's quick eye saw the importance of this position, which can hardly be overestimated; for in the first and second advance of the British, the attack on Prescott's redoubt and Putnam's rail fence was simultaneous. In the third and final advance the attack appears

Israel Putnam

to have been directed entirely upon the redoubt, and in the glorious defeat, the retreat which followed was bravely and successfully protected by the forces at this same rail fence, reinforced by three Connecticut companies under Captains John Chester, James Clark and William Coit, who had received orders to march from Cambridge in the afternoon, and came through Charlestown Neck under a heavy fire which caused some other troops to falter and refuse to advance. Had it not been for the rail fence and its brave defenders, the retreat through the narrow pass of Charlestown Neck would have ben cut off, and the result of the battle of Bunker Hill would have been as disastrous to the Americans as to the British.

But it was not alone in the field movements of the battle that Putnam showed his energy and foresight. He seems to have been ubiquitous, and always at the point where he was most needed—now riding post-haste to Cambridge for reinforcements and supplies, now at the repulse of the first onset, giving that famous order to his men, "Wait till you see the whites of their eyes before you fire;" and at last vainly attempting, with his tireless energy and spirit, to rally the forces for a final stand on Bunker Hill.

The question, Was Putnam or Prescott in command at this battle, has provoked an amount of discussion which bids fair to rival in volume the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy. General Artemas Ward, who was recognized as the Commander-in-chief for the time being, was not on the field, and issued no orders for meeting the attack of the enemy. Until the arrival of General Joseph Warren on the field, Putnam appears to have been the ranking officer, and to have given all the general orders, and to have made all the applications to General Ward for reinforcements. Upon the authority of

Putnam's son Daniel the statement is made that Putnam tendered to Warren the command of the forces, and it is stated that Prescott made a similar tender of the command of the redoubt, both of which Warren declined, and entered the ranks as a volunteer, with the fatal result so well known and so deeply deplored. That there is no evidence of orders issued by Putnam to Prescott during the battle does not alter the case, for Prescott had the simple and important duty of holding and defending the redoubt, a duty which he discharged so bravely and thoroughly that any orders even from an officer superior in rank, would have been an impertinence. All honor is due to both Prescott and Putnam for their share in this momentous battle; and when such honor is compared with the technical military question of official position, the technical question sinks into insignificance.

Another fact which should not be overlooked in the share of Connecticut and her popular hero Putnam in the battle of Bunker Hill, is this: of the sixty-three half-barrels of powder which formed the entire supply of the Americans at this battle, thirty-six half-barrels, or more than one-half the entire quantity had been sent from Connecticut by vote of its Council of Safety on the 7th of June. The record, which happens to be in the handwriting of Governor Trumbull, states that it was voted by the Council to send fifty "barrels" of 108 lbs. each, "on application from the General Committee of Safety and of Supplies for Massachusetts, and on desire of Brigadier General Putnam * * * on the present emergency for use of the camp at Cambridge and Roxbury."

The Council of Safety which voted this supply had been appointed by the General Assembly in the May session of this year, 1775. It was composed of Matthew Griswold, Eliph-

alet Dyer, Jabez Huntington, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Nathaniel Wales, jr., Jedidiah Elderkin, Joshua West and Benjamin Huntington, was designated as "a Committee to assist his Honor the Governor when the Assembly is not sitting," and was clothed with powers practically the same as those of the Assembly, in military and naval affairs. Two of the original members of this council were afterwards signers of the Declaration of Independence. The council was maintained throughout the entire war, and in the "War-office" at Lebanon, now owned, restored and preserved by the Connecticut Society of Sons of the American Revolution, more than eleven hundred meetings of this council were held during the Revolution.

On the 13th of July, 1775, this council had before it the delicate task of reconciling Brigadier General Joseph Spencer to his appointment by the Continental Congress as the fifth of eight officers of the same rank. Spencer, then a man of sixty-one, had held a Connecticut commission as first Brigadier General, Putnam being second, and David Wooster, a man of sixty-five, being superior in rank to both, with the title of Major General. By the appointment of Congress, Putnam was advanced above both these officers, having been appointed the fourth of four Majors-General, owing to his "successful enterprise at Noddle's Island," the news of Bunker Hill not having been received by Congress at the time of his appointment. Spencer, on learning of the appointment early in July, at once left the army at Cambridge, without even reporting to Washington, and presented himself before the Council of Safety at Lebanon on the 13th of July, when he was with some difficulty persuaded "to return to the army and not at present quit the service as he proposed."

It is quite probable that the jealousy occasioned by Putnam's promotion had something to do with the attacks upon his character, and the attempts to rob him of his well-earned laurels, which attacks and attempts have survived to the present day.

Upon the surrender of Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and St. John's, Arnold had remained at Crown Point with a garrison, for the purpose of holding and defending the captured strongholds, and forwarding the supplies which could be spared from them, to the American army. During this time, as we learn from letters which he afterwards wrote to Congress, he had carefully investigated the military condition of Canada, and the temper of its people. In his undertakings up to this time, Arnold had suffered two serious disappointments; first by being anticipated by the Connecticut expedition in the capture of Ticonderoga, and second, by being superseded by Colonel Hinman of Connecticut in the command of the captured posts, to which event there was added the galling feature of a visit from an investigating committee from Massachusetts to call him to account for his stewardship of the money entrusted to him, and to report on his discharge of his duties. Arnold at once indignantly resigned his Massachusetts commission; and the general opinion at the time was that he had been unjustly, or at least discourteously treated.

Notwithstanding these rebuffs, his restless spirit, quick intelligence, and patriotism were at once asserted in the proposal to Congress of an expedition for the capture of the strongholds of Canada, with the expectation of winning its people over to the cause of independence, and thus presenting to the British a solid front on the part of the American colonies. The importance of this enterprise, and the necessity

for speedy action, led to the despatch of an expedition under command of General Philip Schuyler, by authority of Congress, early in July, 1775, the command later devolving on General Richard Montgomery, owing to Schuyler's illness. This expedition was to proceed by way of Lakes George and Champlain, with the capture of Montreal as an objective point. Of the Connecticut troops in this expedition we find Colonel Benjamin Hinman's regiment, which was then at Ticonderoga as a garrison, Colonel David Waterbury's regiment, which was ordered from New York in a body, General David Wooster's regiment, also ordered from New York, and Captain Edward Mott's company from General Parsons' regiment. The ranks of these regiments and this single company were terribly thinned by sickness during this campaign.

Meanwhile, Arnold had returned to Cambridge and had held some conversations with Washington regarding this important movement. His familiarity with the situation, and his intelligent and enthusiastic view of the campaign, led Washington to appoint him to take charge of an expedition by an entirely different route from Schuyler's and Montgomery's, and with a view to join and co-operate with Montgomery in an attack on Quebec. The Continental Congress readily granted to Arnold a colonel's commission for this purpose; and on the 18th of September the entire company embarked at Newburyport destined for the mouth of the Kennebec River, by the line of which river and the Chaudière they were to reach their destination. In this expedition we find, among its eleven hundred men, one company from General Spencer's regiment, under Captain Oliver Hanchett. Among the field officers we find Lieutenant-Colonel Roger Enos of Windsor; Major Return Jonathan Meigs of Mid-

dletown, destined to be made a prisoner at Quebec, and later to rejoin the army to complete an honorable record of service; Quartermaster Benjamin Catlin of Wethersfield; "Volunteer" Eleazer Oswald from the Second Company of Governor's Foot-guards of which we heard at the Lexington alarm; and "Volunteer" Samuel Lockwood of Greenwich, from the Third Company of Colonel Waterbury's regiment.

The story of the long terrible passage and march up the Kennebec and down the Chaudière, the junction with Montgomery, and the failure of the attack on Quebec when victory was almost within their grasp, forms one of the most dramatic pictures of the Revolution. The often expressed wish that Arnold might then and there have shared the fate of Montgomery, and thus have had his name enshrined among the brightest and bravest of heroes of the Revolution, always finds its echo as we read of his conduct of this expedition, and his share in the storming of Quebec.

The Connecticut men engaged in this expedition met with varying fortunes. Lieutenant-Colonel Roger Enos returned with his division before the destination was reached; and though severely censured at the time, and still pilloried by modern historians, a court-martial over which General John Sullivan presided, fully acquitted him of blame. In reply to attacks upon his character and conduct, he produced a certificate signed by twenty-five field officers, including Brigadier-General William Heath, attesting to his good judgment in returning, and certifying to his good character and military ability. Captain Oliver Hanchett's company was present at the storming of Quebec, and thirty-five members of this company, including Captain Hanchett, were made prisoners at the assault. Major Meigs was also captured, as were staff officers Catlin, Oswald, and Lockwood. Lieutenant

Samuel Cooper, of Captain Hanchett's company, was killed in this action.

On the 30th of August in this year, 1775, an affair occurred on the Connecticut coast which has been dignified by the name of the battle of Stonington. Two tenders from the British man-of-war Rose appear to have undertaken the capture of one or more merchant vessels in Stonington harbor, resulting in a passage-at-arms in which four men belonging to the tenders were killed, and one wounded. The tenders put back to the Rose, then lying off Watch Hill, and upon their report, a bombardment of the town was begun. Detachments from American troops in the vicinity were hurried to the scene, until they reached, according to contemporary reports, the number of eight hundred. The man-of-war Rose on the following day departed from the harbor, and Stonington remained unmolested by the British from this time to 1814, when a similar bombardment occurred.

The movements of the British fleet at this time were so threatening to the Connecticut coast that Governor Trumbull took it upon himself to retain as a coast guard some forces newly levied, advising Washington of this action under date of September 5th. Under date of the 8th, a letter was received by Governor Trumbull from Washington ordering all new levies to be sent at once to Boston, without regard to the movements of the British fleet. This order was immediately complied with, although the relations between Washington and Trumbull were strained for a few days owing to the fact that Washington appeared to ignore Trumbull's letter of the 5th, and to issue this order presumptively in the way of reproof, to which the governor, after his arduous exertions for the common cause, did not take kindly, as appears by his reply under date of the 15th. Mutual explanations

followed, and from this time forward only complete accord and increasing confidence appear in the voluminous correspondence between Washington and Trumbull.

November, of this year, 1775, was a month of anxiety and interest to Connecticut. The anxiety resulted from the fact that a number of enlisted men at Cambridge left the camp before the arrival of new recruits to fill their places. In a letter to Governor Trumbull dated December 2d, Washington speaks feelingly of this occurrence, from which it appears that, upon the representation of the officers of several regiments that their men would undoubtedly stay until other forces arrived to take their places, "they were requested and ordered to remain, as the time of most of them would not be out before the 10th [of December], when they would be relieved." It was requested by Washington that they should be punished as deserters. These men denied the charge of desertion, claiming that they had completed the term of service for which they enlisted. There can be no doubt that this might be true in the case of some of these men, and that but a few days of service remained for any of them from the date of their enlistment. The Council of Safety, on receiving the letter from Washington, pronounced their conduct reprehensible, and called them deserters, but declined to deal with them as such, owing to the critical condition of the times, in the formation of a new army, in which, as we shall see, Connecticut promptly furnished her quota.

There is no doubt that the men who thus returned home or remained in the army under arrest at the time, received only condemnation and ridicule from all quarters. Of those who escaped, General Greene wrote that they "met with such an unfavorable reception at home that many of them are returning to camp already." And in reply to General Washing-

ton's letter Governor Trumbull wrote expressing "grief, surprise and indignation," referring to the custom of the troops in the late war of regarding themselves not holden beyond the time of their enlistment. He closes by saying:

"Your candor and goodness will suggest to your consideration that the conduct of our troops is not a rule whereby to judge of the temper and spirit of our colony."

Thus ended a disagreeable episode in the military affairs of this time. Washington declined to offer any suggestion to the General Assembly regarding it, and expressed the utmost confidence in the zeal and patriotism of the people. The General Assembly afterwards voted, in some instances, full pay to the men who had left the army under the impression that their enlistment had expired.

An enemy more insidious, and possibly more dangerous to the causes of American liberty than the British forces, was the Tory press of James Rivington of New York. The utterances of his New York Gazetteer, as it was then called, were very severe upon the patriots or Whigs of the day, and found a wide circulation and ready sympathy with the large and growing Tory element in the vicinity. Captain Isaac Sears, an active, resourceful patriot came to the conclusion in November of this year 1775, that the only censorship which was applicable to this press was an exterminating process; whereupon he gathers a force of Connecticut men, who, proceeding to Westchester, capture the Reverend Samuel Seabury, Judge Jonathan Fowler, and "Lord" Nathaniel Underhill on the 22d, and, after burning a small British sloop at Mamaroneck, proceed on the following day to New York, where a force of "seventy-five men on horseback, with fixed bayonets," as a contemporary account relates, draw up before

Rivington's printing office, and seize and carry away his types and other materials, thus placing it beyond his power to issue the mischievous publications with which he had been flooding the country. The Provincial Congress of New York, jealous of this so-called invasion of provincial rights, insists, in an official letter to Governor Trumbull, that Rivington's types be returned to "the Chairman of the General Committee of the City and County of New York"; to which the governor in decorous and courteous official form replies, declining to make it a state affair, and pointing out to his correspondents the fact that the ringleader is reported to be a New York man, and that "the proper resort for a private injury must be to the courts of law, which are the only jurisdictions that can take notice of violences of this kind." The "General Committee of the City and County of New York" had already gravely acted on this suggestion on the day of Sears' raid, by passing a resolution requiring him to appear to answer to the charge of forcibly entering Rivington's printing house; but no record can be found that he obeyed the summons. For two years from this time Rivington's press remained mute, until at length the British occupied New York, and he was once more enabled to ply his trade under their protection.

Of the three prisoners taken by Sears on his way to New York, Judge Fowler and Lord Underhill signed recantations of certain protests they had made against the proceedings of the Continental Congress; and the Reverend (afterwards Bishop) Samuel Seabury, who was not of the recanting kind, addressed a long and able memorial to the General Assembly of Connecticut, resulting in his release from custody after having been kept for about a month under guard at the house of a Mrs. Lyman of New Haven.

From this time forward Captain Isaac Sears appears to have taken up his residence in Connecticut.

CHAPTER IV

The Year of Independence

IN this momentous year, 1776, we can see some of the advantages which Connecticut possessed from the very beginning of the revolutionary struggle. Even Rhode Island, with her similar character and form of government, was obliged first to suspend, and then to depose her Tory Governor, Joseph Wanton, so that it was not until November 1775 that she had reached the same political position which Connecticut had occupied since the days of the Stamp Act. In Massachusetts, something like order was brought out of the chaos of the times, by resuming in July 1775 a form of government which had been so long interrupted by British control; and in New York the Tory element rendered it uncertain for a time whether British control would prevail or not. In all the other colonies, with their varied conditions, difficulties of one kind and another had to be overcome. Among these thirteen colonies the only one which had a patriot governor was Connecticut; and thus the condition to which the Continental Congress was striving to bring the colonies existed from the beginning only in this commonwealth; a government by the people, administered by a governor and council who stood ready at all times to assert the rights of the people, and to resist oppression. In other colonies valuable time was consumed in adjusting their governments to the situation; but this colony was ready from the beginning for any emergency which the situation might bring about.

More than a year had now been spent in preparations for war and in actual warfare. The drain on the treasury of Connecticut, still suffering from the depletion of the French war, was severe, and her expenses were out of proportion to those of other colonies. During the year from May 1775 to June 1776, issues of provincial bills of credit were made to

the exent of £260,000. The redemption of these bills was provided for, however, by laying taxes of from seven to eight pence on the pound, at or near the time when the bills were issued. It was found that fully £65,000 had been expended during the year beyond the share of the colony, in connection with General Schuyler's expedition and other matters. Application was made to Congress for this amount in the then new and attractive continental bills, which application was granted by sending in payment $210,000 at different times, after which continental money was apportioned to this colony as to others. By enactment of the General Assembly, this money was made receivable for taxes. An enactment was also made at a later date, which, while it speaks well for the patriotism of our legislators, appears, in view of the inevitable course of subsequent events, rather more humorous than otherwise. This was a law making it a penal offence to demand or take more than the face value of continental money in exchange for coin or bullion, or to make any sales of property at a higher price in continental money than in money of any other kind.

The record of the session of the General Assembly in December 1775 bears the time-honored Latin heading designating the year of the reign of the sovereign of England, and the acts of this session were published under the royal arms. This was Connecticut's last recognition of British sovereignty. In the May session which followed, these devices are conspicuous by their absence; and measures were taken to exclude His Majesty's name from all legal writs and other documents, substituting therefor the name of the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut—still a colony for a little longer, but no longer His Majesty's.

From these measures to a downright assertion of inde-

pendence the step was a short one, if it can even be called a step. When, after a long debate, the Continental Congress on the 8th of June could only vote to submit the question of a declaration of independence to each colony separately, and before other colonies even had time to commence their wrangles on the subject, we find Connecticut first in instructing her delegates. It was in these words that they were instructed, on the 14th of June, 1776:

"Resolved unanimously by this Assembly: That the Delegates of this Colony in General Congress be and they are hereby instructed to propose to that respectable body, to declare the United American Colonies Free and Independent States, absolved from all allegiance to the King of Great Britain, and to give the assent of this Colony to such declaration when they shall judge it expedient and best, and to whatever measures may be thought proper and necessary by the Congress for forming foreign alliances, or any plan of operation for necessary and mutual defence."

Having passed this resolution, the General Assembly immediately proceeds to pass "An Act for raising two Battalions to join the Continental Army in Canada," followed by "An Act for raising seven Battalions to join the Continental Army in New York."

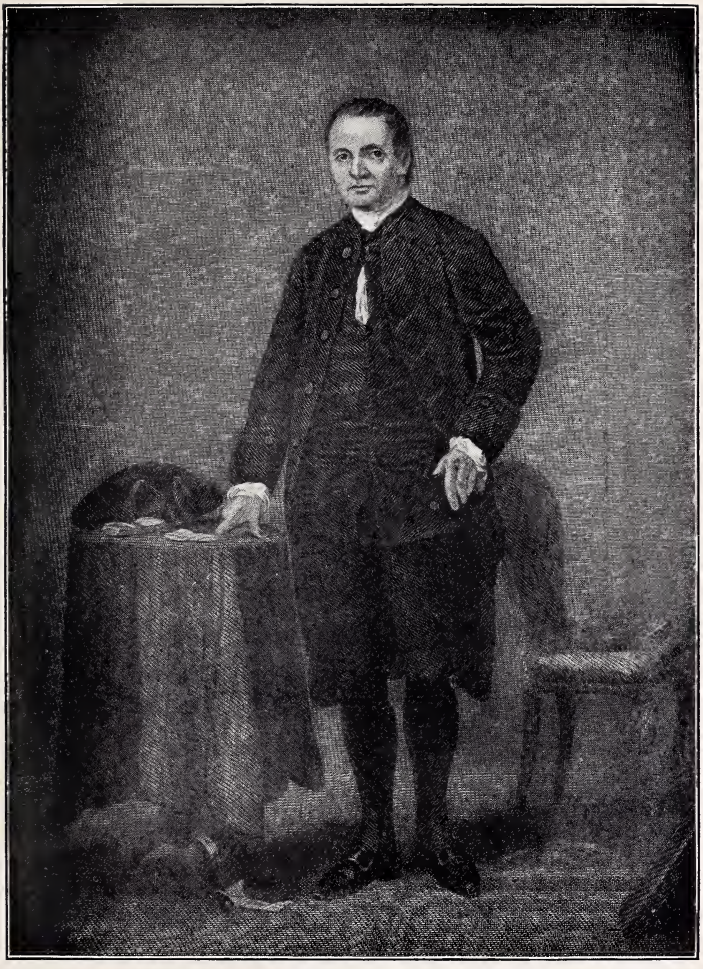
In connection with these acts, a proclamation is issued by Governor Trumbull on the 18th of this same June which, by no great straining of definition, has been popularly called Connecticut's Declaration of Independence. It is a remarkable document, or certainly would be so if issued by a governor of this twentieth century; but we may well imagine that to the mind of the eighteenth century, the logical sequence of events which it recites, beginning with the creation and fall of man, and ending with a full exposure of the tyranny of George

III., was impressive to the last degree. One politically culminating sentence must be quoted from it:

"Be exhorted to rise, therefore, to superior Exertions on this great Occasion; and let all that are able and necessary, show themselves ready in behalf of their injured and oppressed Country, and come forth to the Help of the Lord against the Mighty, and convince the unrelenting Tyrant of Britain, that they are resolved to be FREE."

It is not surprising that, when the news of the passage of the Declaration of Independence by Congress reached Connecticut, whose General Assembly had already authorized its delegates to promote it, and had endorsed the proclamation just quoted, this news should be calmly received, without the burning of gunpowder which was needed for more serious purposes. The General Assembly had adjourned when the news was received, and though the proper treatment of the subject was discussed in the Council of Safety, that body preferred to leave it to the regular October session of the Assembly, when carefully worded resolves were recorded, approving the Declaration, and making of Connecticut "a free and independent State," under the same form of government which had existed since the issue of the royal charter of 1662. No change, except in name, was required to make this commonwealth a free state, just as no change had been required to adjust her affairs to the situation which resulted in declaring independence.

To the first Continental Congress, Eliphalet Dyer, Silas Deane, and Roger Sherman were sent as delegates; and to the second Congress the delegates attending were Roger Sherman, Oliver Wolcott, and Samuel Huntington, all of whom signed the Declaration of Independence. These men were not orators, but it must be admitted that they were



From the painting by Chappell.

Roger Sherman

statesmen of a high order. To Roger Sherman is due the credit for an important step towards the organization of the Treasury Department, against opposition on the part of Benjamin Harrison, which was overcome by the support of John Adams, who seconded Sherman's motion for the appointment of a committee on accounts or claims. There is no doubt that in the early stages of the experimental legislation of this experimental body, the sound practical wisdom of all these Connecticut delegates did good service, even though they made no elaborate speeches which have lived in American literature. It should be remembered that in 1776, Roger Sherman was one of the committee which drafted the Declaration of Independence.

The reorganization of the Continental army, which became necessary as the short enlistments of 1775 expired, was speedily accomplished as far as Connecticut's quota was concerned. Five of the six regiments raised in April 1775 were reorganized at once, General Putnam's regiment being placed under the command of Colonel Benedict Arnold, and General Spencer's regiment under command of Colonel Samuel Wyllys, the other three remaining as before under command of Colonels Jedediah Huntington, Samuel Holden Parsons, and Charles Webb. Two additional regiments were recruited under Colonels Charles Burrall and Samuel Elmore, early in 1776, and another in May of the same year, under Colonel Andrew Ward, completing the quota of eight regiments. Although Arnold was appointed to the command of General Putnam's regiment, he never assumed this command, being at Quebec at the time. The regiment was placed in command of Colonel John Durkee, of Stamp Act fame. The five reorganized regiments were present at the siege and evacuation of Boston, and were then ordered to

New York, participating in many of the battles of the following trying campaign. Colonel Andrew Ward's regiment, recruited in May, joined Washington's forces, and continued with him during the retreat through New Jersey, being engaged in the battles of Trenton and Princeton. The regiments of Colonels Burrall and Elmore were sent to the Northern Department, where the former suffered seriously from small-pox.

These eight regiments which were adopted, or readopted, as continental, formed a comparatively small portion of the forces which Connecticut placed in the service during this eventful year. In addition to these were the two other organizations known as the State Troops and the Militia. Of the former, we find more or less complete rosters of eighteen regiments, and of the latter, a force increased from twenty-two to thirty-three regiments during the year.

The State Troops appear to have been mustered at various times to meet various emergencies, for a longer or shorter period of service. Three regiments of these troops under Colonels Erastus Wolcott, James Wadsworth and John Douglass, appear to have filled the gap occasioned by the expired enlistments of the men who left the service in November. These three regiments were in the field before Boston from December, 1775, to February, 1776. Two regiments under Colonels David Waterbury and Andrew Ward were sent to New York in January 1776 for a short term of service under General Charles Lee, which will be more fully explained further on in our narrative. Of the other independent regiments of these State Troops, two, under Colonels Samuel Mott and Heman Swift, served in the Northern Department from June to November of this year; and four regiments under Colonels Samuel Whiting, Thaddeus

Cook, Roger Enos, and John Ely performed a tour of service not clearly defined in the records, but understood to be at the western border of Connecticut and in Rhode Island. The remaining State Troops consisted of seven battalions, or regiments, constituting General James Wadsworth's brigade. The Colonels of these regiments were Gold Selleck Silliman, Fisher Gay, Comfort Sage, Samuel Selden, William Douglass, John Chester, and Philip Burr Bradley. This entire brigade saw active service at Long Island, through the retreat at New York, and in the engagements which followed at Harlem Heights, White Plains and Fort Washington.

The militia, composed of men of the Alarm List, and others of military age, with certain exemptions, was by no means merely a home guard. Of this force twenty-three regiments were ordered to New York during the summer of 1776. A few of these were at Kip's Bay during the landing of the British at that point, and from all these raw recruits many entered the regular service later, to give a better account of themselves than in this unfortunate affair.

Of the promptness with which the forces needed in the emergencies of the campaign were provided and sent to the front, the following extracts from letters of Washington to Governor Trumbull bear the best testimony that can be furnished.

On the 16th of January, in asking for forces to fill the vacancies occasioned by the short enlistments of Massachusetts and New Hampshire troops, Washington closes by saying:

"The great and constant attention, sir, which you have shown upon all occasions, to promote the publick cause, affords me the strongest assurance that your every exertion and interest will be employed to comply with these several requisitions."

In a letter, replying to Governor Trumbull's letter of the 18th regarding reinforcements for Canada after the repulse at Quebec, he says:

"The early attention which you and your honorable council have paid to this important business, has anticipated my requisition, and claims, in a particular manner, the thanks of every well-wishing American."

On the 10th of June from New York;

"In this critical conjuncture of affairs, the experience I have had of your zeal and readiness to assist the common cause, induces me to request the most speedy and early succor, that can be obtained from your colony, and that the militia may be forwarded, one battalion after another, as fast as they can possibly be raised * * *."

After the arrival of the militia, Washington writes, on the 10th of August:

"I think you and your honorable Council of Safety highly deserving of the thanks of the States, for the measures you have adopted in order to give the most early and speedy succor to this army; give me leave to return you mine in particular."

The foregoing quotations are enough to show the temper and efficiency of the State at this time, but many more tributes from the great commander could be added if necessary.

An instance of the readiness with which Connecticut met the many and urgent calls upon her occurred early in January, 1776. The need of military occupation of the city of New York at this time was particularly impressed upon Washington, partly from his own view of the situation; but in all probability, mainly from the enthusiasm of Captain Isaac Sears and from the representations of General Charles

Lee, in whom there was at this time so much misplaced confidence. As no troops could be spared from Boston for the purpose of occupying and fortifying New York, it was found necessary to call upon Connecticut. Upon this call, two regiments of seven hundred and fifty men each were promptly recruited, under Colonels Andrew Ward and David Waterbury. They were employed only for a few weeks with Lord Stirling's New Jersey regiment, in building fortifications on Brooklyn Heights and the river fronts of New York. The principal recorded result of the expedition appears to be that General Lee was afforded an opportunity to indulge in gasconading to an extent which must have satisfied even him for the time being, and that he was enabled to pose as a hero by being carried on a litter from Stamford to New York while suffering from an attack of gout. Historians of half a century ago and earlier reverently quote a threat he is said to have made, that if the British should burn a single house in New York in consequence of his coming, he would "chain a hundred of their friends by the neck, and make that house their funeral pile."

Since it is an old maxim that we must give even the devil his due, it is but fair to add that the plan of fortifications which Lee laid out at this time was practically adopted on the arrival of the American army at New York after the evacuation of Boston. The movement on New York by the British, which Lee and Sears had represented to Washington and Governor Trumbull as impending at this time, did not, as we know, occur until some seven months later.

The first move in this game of war which finally took New York out of the hands of the Americans was the battle of Long Island, a battle particularly important in Connecticut history for the reason that General Israel Putnam was the

officer in command, and that three of our five continental regments which were sent to New York from Boston were engaged in it, as were portions of Wadsworth's brigade of State Troops, which had been temporarily consolidated with portions of the State Militia.

Putnam was appointed by Washington to take command of the forces at Long Island, almost on the eve of the battle. It was doubtless Washington's confidence in Putnam as an executive officer which caused him to make this appointment, superseding General John Sullivan, who had been placed in temporary command during the illness of General Nathaniel Greene. At the time when Putnam assumed this command, he had at his disposal a force of about five thousand men, reinforced at the time of the battle to about seven thousand. The enemy, from the most reliable accounts, numbered not less than twenty thousand, and had already landed three-fourths of this force at Gravesend when Putnam was placed in command. It must be remembered that the responsibility which devolved upon him at this time was the faithful execution of the orders of Washington, who issued specific orders to him regarding the impending battle, in writing on the 25th, and in person on the 26th, when he "continued till evening."

It is no part of our purpose to enter into a military history or criticism of this battle. Some modern historians, in their comfortable arm-chairs, under the inspiration of that cheap faculty familiarly known as hindsight, believe they could have managed the whole affair much better than did Washington, and are prone to lay a lion's share of the blame for the defeat on the broad but rather overloaded shoulders of Putnam. The fact is clearly to be seen, however, that he carried out Washington's orders with the utmost faithfulness

and precision. These orders were to contest the advance of the British on the wooded heights commanding the passes to Brooklyn; and it was upon these same heights that the battle was fought, and that the Americans yielded, after a stubborn resistance, to superior numbers. The regiment of Colonel Jedediah Huntington suffered a large loss in this engagement. General Samuel Holden Parsons, with his regiment was also in the thick of the fight, as was Colonel Wyllys with his regiment.

In the masterly retreat from Brooklyn Heights, and the attempts which followed to resist the landing of the British at New York, we find much service of Connecticut forces. After a delay of more than a fortnight, Howe finally decided to make a landing at Kip's Bay—now the foot of Thirty-fourth Street. To oppose this landing, a force of raw Connecticut recruits under Colonel William Douglas was posted behind low breastworks, and upon this force the fire of five British frigates was directed, under cover of which fire, Sir Henry Clinton's division was landed in eighty-four boats. The raw and inexperienced forces under Douglas retired in some confusion, and are unjustly denounced by some historians for failing to resist an attack which it is doubtful if veterans would have withstood much better.

The retreat from New York to Harlem now began. We find Washington from his headquarters at Harlem, and Putnam from his headquarters at the lower part of New York, rushing to the scene, unable to rally the forces which had been ordered to support Douglas' men; Putnam riding post-haste to his command to conduct the famous retreat, which was so fortunately aided by the timely hospitality which Mrs. Robert Murray extended to General Howe and his staff.

After the defeat at Long Island, a small body of picked men taken from various regiments, was organized for partisan service under command of Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Knowlton, which body soon became known as Knowlton's Rangers, and was particularly distinguished in an engagement on the day following the landing of the British at New York. It is hardly too much to say that this band is to be credited with bringing on the brilliant little action known as the battle of Harlem Heights, greatly reviving the spirit of the retreating American army by giving them the exhilarating sight of redcoats once more flying, with Americans in full pursuit. Knowlton, being a Connecticut man had such men as Nathan Hale of Coventry, Stephen Brown of Woodstock, Thomas Grosvenor of Pomfret, and Thomas U. Fosdick of New London among his leading officers, with many other Connecticut men in the ranks, or in lower official positions. The company consisted of about one hundred and twenty men at this time, who, in the early dawn of September 16th, moved out to ascertain the position of the enemy; engaged in a sharp skirmish with their outposts, but were finally compelled to retire for a short time before a force nearly four times their number. These brave men soon rallied, and with reinforcements turned the tide of battle, but with the sad result of the death of the brave Knowlton, who fell mortally wounded on the field. In general orders of the following day, Washington speaks of him as "the gallant and brave Colonel Knowlton, who would have been an honor to any country." We have already seen him at Bunker Hill, bravely posted at the rail fence, and beginning there a record of revolutionary service which was so brilliant and honorable that we feel that such men could ill be spared in these times of danger and defeat. To the men who bore him from the

field, he said, "I do not value my life if we do but get the day;" and the last words he uttered were, "Are we driving them?"

If it were possible to find a hero surpassing Knowlton in courage and patriotism, that hero would unquestionably be Nathan Hale. It is with no intention of drawing comparisons between the young captain of twenty-one and the maturer colonel of thirty-six that this remark is made. We may look, but in vain, for a career which forms a parallel to Hale's. While his brave colonel, with the famous rangers, was engaged in the brilliant action which closed his career, his young captain was engaged in a service equally hazardous and fatal, but without the sense of comradeship in danger to inspire it, or emulation in achievement to incite it. It was not the rash venture of a foolhardy boy which he undertook. His story has been so well and so fully told by Professor Henry P. Johnston that it is unnecessary to repeat it here except in the barest outline.

Of the movements, position, and designs of the British just after the battle of Long Island, it was impossible for Washington to get trustworthy informaton, though such information was of vital importance at this crisis. This fact was made known among the more trustworthy in the command, with a view to finding some suitable man to volunteer as a spy, penetrate the enemy's lines in disguise, and obtain the needed information. As soon as Hale learned that this service was needed, his sense of patriotic duty was aroused. After due consideration and consultation with his friend Captain William Hull, who has carefully preserved, in substance, Hale's own words in the interview, he volunteers on this perilous service. Hull's report of the interview, in which he tried to dissuade his friend from the purpose in view, re-

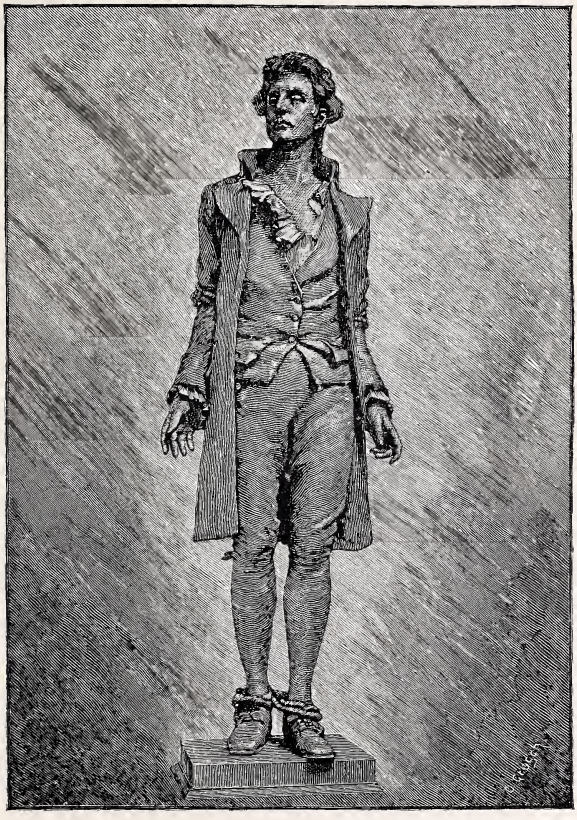
veals so well Hale's carefully weighed reasons for his decision, that his words, as Hull reports them, must be quoted in full. Knowing the frank, open nature of his friend, and his unfitness to undertake a disguise, Hull urges this consideration, together with the ignominious death resulting from almost certain detection. Hale replies:

"I am fully sensible of the consequences of discovery and capture in such a situation. But for a year I have been attached to the army, and have not rendered any material service while receiving a compensation for which I make no return. Yet I am not influenced by the expectation of promotion or pecuniary reward; I wish to be useful, and every kind of service, necessary to the public good, becomes honorable by being necessary. If the exigencies of my country demand a peculiar service, its claims to perform that service are imperious."

To further urgent entreaties to desist from his project, Hale only replies, "I will reflect, and do nothing but what duty demands."

We see plainly enough, in the light of events, that his further reflection made no change in his views. To him, the known wish of Washington, and the urgent needs of the occasion, outweighed all other considerations. And among these other considerations we may be sure that there were none of a personal character.

The rest of the short but impressive story of Nathan Hale is well known, but cannot be too often repeated. Disguised as a schoolmaster, which rôle his experience of nearly two years of school teaching had fitted him to assume, he enters the British lines, collects probably all the needed information, and with his hazardous mission accomplished, is taken prisoner by the British while waiting for a boat to bring him



From the Statue.

NATHAN HALE

to the American lines. His frank acknowledgment of his errand seals his fate, and on the 22d of September this young life is ended by the hangman, and the young patriot, with the often quoted words on his lips,—"I only regret that I have but one life to give for my country",—is enrolled among the heroes and martyrs of the Revolution. As time goes on, his name grows dearer, his fame grows brighter, and monument after monument marks the grateful tribute of the people to the young hero whose only thought was of his country's need.

CHAPTER V

The First British Invasion

IN the battle of White Plains, and the actions which followed, Connecticut forces, as we have seen, performed their full share; as they did at the close of the year 1776, and the opening of the year 1777 at the battles of Trenton and Princeton. In these trying times, we know how the spirit of the Americans was revived by the master-strokes of that great genius, Washington, who snatched victory from defeat under circumstances which roused the admiration of such a general as Frederick the Great, and caused Cornwallis to confess four years later to Washington that the Yorktown campaign was almost surpassed in generalship by the masterly strokes of Trenton and Princeton.

With the opening of spring, military diversions appeared to be the order of the day. In the hope of weakening our resources, and of breaking the patriotic spirit of the people of Connecticut, an expedition was placed by Lord Howe in command of Governor William Tryon of New York. The avowed object of this expedition was the capture or destruction of military stores which had been deposited in Danbury, a town selected for that purpose in 1776 by the commissioners of the Continental Army. Another motive was, no doubt, to weaken the main force of our army in New Jersey by drawing from it men and arms for the defense of the Connecticut and Rhode Island coasts. It required the will and military genius of Washington to refrain from such a course later in the year at the urgent request of Connecticut authorities.

Tryon's force, consisting of two to four thousand men, according to varying contemporary accounts, sailed from New York on the 24th of April 1777, in twenty transports and six war vessels. They arrived at the mouth of the Sau-

gatuck river on the 25th, and landed forces, probably to the number of about two thousand. The news of their landing was carried by swift messengers to Danbury. The British marched about five miles to a point on the Danbury road in the northern part of Fairfield, where they encamped for the night.

Upon the landing of the British, the alarm appears to have sped swiftly not only to Danbury but to New Haven. The tidings found the Americans rich in officers but sadly impoverished in men. Information of the scarcity of men, carried by the Tories infesting the western portion of the state, was no doubt a strong inducement to Tryon to undertake his raid at this time. In New Haven it happened that General Benedict Arnold and the veteran general David Wooster received the news, and at once led such militia forces as could be mustered to Fairfield. Learning there that General Gold Sellick Silliman had collected forces at Redding, and was marching to Danbury, Wooster joined him on the 26th. It was here, at Redding, no doubt, that a plan of operations was agreed upon between Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman, whose combined forces, hastily gathered at Redding, New Haven, and on the march, now reached about seven hundred men. This force advanced from Redding to Bethel, where it encamped for the night in a heavy rain.

Meanwhile the British took up their march from Fairfield to Danbury, which point they reached without opposition on the afternoon of the 26th. The only soldiers at Danbury were about fifty continentals and one hundred militiamen, a force barely sufficient to form a rear-guard for the fleeing, terror-stricken inhabitants. The only opposition which the British met at this time was from three young men, named Joshua Porter, Ebenezer Starr, and Adams; the latter being

a negro slave, whose name may have been Adam. They rashly fired upon the enemy from the house of Captain Ezra Starr, and were killed on the spot by the British. The only prisoners taken at Danbury were a brother of the Joshua Porter just mentioned, and a man named Barnum. Porter is said to have surrendered to superior numbers, after a stout resistance, in which he overpowered three of his assailants. He was afterwards confined with Barnum in the old Sugar House prison, from which he was released, but his companion died there from starvation.

Upon arriving in the principal street of the town the British opened an indiscriminate fire, which cleared the town of inhabitants who had not already fled.

And now began a wholesale destruction of military stores, of which the inventory of the invaders will be given later. Among these stores were large quantities of rum, then regarded as an indispensable portion of the rations of the continental soldier. To the British soldier of the day, too, the only proper method of destroying this article was by drinking it; and this method appears to have been put in practice as soon as the rum was discovered. There was more of it, however, than even two thousand British soldiers could destroy at once in this way; and the result was, that though the Americans did not have men enough to whip this force of British soldiers at just this time, they had rum enough to effect this purpose temporarily. Governor Tryon soon found, to his dismay, that his command, with only exceptions enough to prove the rule, was helplessly drunk. At about the time when this discovery fully dawned upon him, the news reached him that the American forces were gathering to oppose him. And as we find him, in the retrospect of a century and a quarter, with his helplessly drunken force for one

horn of his dilemma, and the resolute American soldiers whose homes he had invaded for the other, no good American can spare for Tryon one drop of pity, even at this late day. The work of the sufficiently sober members of his force, aided by their trusted Tory friends, appears now to have been the marking of a large cross in whitewash on the houses of the tories of Danbury, signifying that these houses were to be spared in the coming conflagration.

At about two o'clock on the morning of Sunday the 27th, the work of burning the homes of the patriots of Danbury began. Either owing to the need of haste, or the fear of burning the houses of the tories, or both, but nineteen dwellings were burned. The Congregational meeting house, and a number of stores and workshops, also perished in the flames. According to Sir William Howe's official report, printed in the London Gazette of June 7th, 1777, "the village was unavoidably burnt." After which, having reached a state of sobriety which admitted of marching, the British made a much more hasty retreat than they probably intended to make. Instead of retracing their steps through Bethel, Redding, and Fairfield, they adopted a more westerly course, apparently in the hope of eluding their pursuers.

Anticipating this movement, Generals Wooster, Arnold, and Silliman divided their forces, detailing about two hundred men to march to Danbury under Wooster, and harass and detain the enemy from the rear; while Arnold and Silliman, with the remaining five hundred men, proceeded by a forced march to Ridgefield, occupying a position suitable for opposing the enemy on the front and on both flanks. By the destruction of a bridge on their march from Danbury, the British were somewhat delayed; so that Wooster, possibly reinforced by the continentals and militia from Danbury,

From an original painting.

David Wooster

gained on them, and approaching through a wooded country, took them completely by surprise at breakfast, capturing forty men. Retreating with his prisoners as suddenly as he had come, he hung upon the rear of the enemy as they hastily resumed their march, and at about eleven o'clock made another bold attack with his handful of men, about two miles north from Ridgefield. While cheering his men, with the shout "Come on boys!" he fell, fatally wounded, and was carried from the field. Thus bravely fell another Connecticut hero, a man of sixty-seven, in whom dwelt that love of country which forgets age and all other personal considerations.

The British reached Ridgefield at about noon, and began a fire of artillery upon Arnold's and Silliman's forces as soon as these forces were discernible. As the British approached within musket range a fierce fight began, and it is said to have been fully an hour before these two thousand disciplined British troops were able to force the five hundred Americans to retreat from their position. It was at this time that the brave Colonel Abram Gold fell, while refusing to retreat, and attempting to rally his men by his own example. He fell, sword in hand, from his horse, mortally wounded, in the midst of the enemy. In this engagement the British left unburied thirty dead on the field, besides a number whom they buried.

On the following morning their retreat was resumed, and it was on this retreat that Tyron more narrowly escaped defeat than in any of his numerous incursions on Connecticut soil. The Americans were now gathering from various quarters. Colonel Lamb's artillery soon appeared with three field pieces under Lieutenant Colonel Oswald, joined by part of an artillery company from Fairfield on one hand, and

sixty continentals and three volunteer companies from New Haven, on the other hand. Colonel Jedediah Huntington with five hundred men attacked the British on the rear, and with General Silliman's assistance drove them past the bridge which they were intending to cross, near which point they were threatened on the flank by Arnold and his men, and retreated precipitately to the ford of the Saugatuck river, while Silliman held the bridge. After crossing this ford, and hastily retreating over the high land on the east bank, with the gathering forces in hot pursuit, their position was still hazardous, and many fell by the way. At last, panting and exhausted, they gained the commanding position of Compo Hill, where they hastily mounted some field pieces and secured the height. Here it was that the brave Colonel John Lamb, leaping from his horse, gathered a volunteer force to storm the hill; and here, while bravely leading them, he fell, severely wounded, so that his men, supposing him to be dead, gave up the attack. Forces from the fleet were now landing, and with their assistance, and still under a hot fire up to the point of embarkation, they at last gained their ships, and bade good-bye to Connecticut for the space of two years. Even at their landing three days before, they had met some determined though unorganized resistance, in which one American was killed and several British wounded; and in their retreat, as we have seen, they had found that the few men left in Connecticut were a match for them.

Twenty-two of these Connecticut men lie buried in one grave on the beach where this action took place. It is historic ground, hallowed by the blood of patriots, and the movement now on foot to erect a suitable monument to their memory should meet with a liberal aid from the State and the people.

The contemporary account of this fight places the casualties among the Americans at about sixty killed and wounded; and among the British more than double, in addition to twenty prisoners, probably a part of the forty taken by Wooster. Sir William Howe's "Return of the stores, ordnance, provisions, etc., found at the rebels' stores, and destroyed by the king's troops, in Danbury," is as follows:

"A quantity of ordnance stores, with iron, etc.; 4,000 barrels of beef and pork; 1,000 barrels of flour; 100 large tierces of biscuit; 89 barrels of rice; 120 Puncheons of rum; several large stores of wheat, oats, and Indian corn in bulk; 30 pipes of wine; 100 hogsheads of sugar; 50 ditto of molasses; 20 casks of coffee; 15 large casks filled with medicines of all kinds; 10 barrels of saltpetre; 1,020 tents and marquees; a number of iron boilers; a large quantity of hospital bedding; engineer's, pioneers', and carpenters' tools; a printing press complete; tar, tallow, etc.; 5,000 pairs of shoes and stockings."

The casualties of the British in this same official report, are twenty-five killed, one hundred and seventeen wounded, and twenty-nine missing.

The report also places the number of Americans killed as seven officers and precisely one hundred privates; wounded, three officers and precisely two hundred and fifty privates; taken, fifty privates.

Among the Americans killed were, Colonel Abram Gold, Lieutenants Ephraim Middlebrook, Samuel Elmore and William Thompson; also Dr. David Atwater of New Haven. Among the wounded were Colonel John Lamb, Amah Bradley and Timothy Gorham. The escape of Arnold at Ridgefield was, from all accounts, little short of miraculous. When the enemy gained the ridge commanding one flank of his po-

sition, his retreat was necessarily hasty, in the midst of a shower of bullets at short range. His horse was killed under him, pierced by nine bullets, but Arnold was untouched, though he narrowly escaped capture at the time. While he was entangled with his dead horse, a soldier approached him, calling out, "Surrender! You are my prisoner!" "Not yet," said Arnold, as he drew a pistol from his holster and shot his would-be captor dead. He then extricated himself from his fallen horse, and escaped, under a heavy fire. On the following day his second horse was wounded. His loss was made good by the Continental Congress in the following month, when it was voted that a horse, properly caparisoned, be presented to him, "in the name of this Congress, as a token of their approbation of his gallant conduct in the action against the enemy in their late enterprise to Danbury."

The town records of Danbury were burned in the house of the town-clerk, but the probate records escaped destruction.

Within a month from the time of Tryon's raid, the Americans were practically compensated by a successful attack upon a Britsh depository of military stores at Sag Harbor, L. I. General Parsons, learning that stores were being collected at this place, despatched a force from New Haven in thirteen whale-boats, on the 21st of May, under Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs, to attempt the destruction of these stores. This force reached Guilford on the same day, and waiting there for favorable weather, embarked from Sachem's Head on the 23d, under convoy of two armed sloops. An unarmed sloop also accompanied them to carry prisoners. Reaching Sag Harbor at one o'clock on the morning of the 24th, they secured their boats in the woods near the shore. The force, according to General Parsons' report, numbered one hundred and sixty, "and having made the proper arrangement for at-

tacking the enemy in five different places, proceeded in the greatest order and silence within twenty rods of the enemy, when they rushed on, with fixed bayonets, upon the different barracks, guards, and quarters of the enemy; while Capt. Troop, with a party under his command, at the same time took possession of the wharves and vessels lying there."

The result of this surprise was the burning of all the vessels at the wharves, to the number of eleven; the capture of ninety prisoners, of whom one-third were seamen and the rest mostly tories; the destruction of one hundred tons of hay, a large quantity of grain, ten hogsheads of rum, and other West India stores. Notwithstanding an incessant fire of grape and round shot for about an hour from a British schooner of twelve guns lying within a range of one hundred and fifty yards, not one of the Americans was killed or wounded. Six of the British are reported to have been killed. By two o'clock of the afternoon of the same day, Colonel Meigs had returned to Guilford, accomplishing in twenty-five hours, with his hundred and sixty men, without the loss of a man, very nearly the same result, so far as legitimate warfare is concerned, which Tryon with his two thousand men accomplished in three days, with a heavy loss.

Washington, in replying to General Parsons' report of this affair, says:

"And now I shall take occasion not only to give you my hearty approbation of your conduct in planning the expedition to Long Island, but to return my sincere thanks to Colonel Meigs, and all the officers and men engaged in it. This enterprise, so fortunate in the execution, will greatly distress the enemy in the important and essential article of forage, and reflects much honor on those who performed it. I shall ever be happy to reward merit when in my power, and

therefore wish you to inquire for a vacant ensigncy in some of the regiments for Sergeant Gennings, to which you will promote him, advising me of the same, and the time."

Washington also highly commended this affair in his general orders, and Congress voted a handsome sword to Colonel Meigs in recognition of this important service.

Not so successful was an attempt in August of this year, 1777, to capture a tory garrison which had seized the Presbyterian church at Setauket, L. I., and had occupied it for military purposes. General Parsons, with a force of one hundred and fifty picked men, advanced upon this garrison on the 14th of August, and a surrender being refused by the commanding officer, firing began on both sides, and was continued for some time, until three British war ships were perceived, apparently coming to the rescue of the garrison, when Parsons prudently withdrew his men. He arrived safely at Black Rock, the point from which he had set out, "with a few of the enemy's horses, and a quantity of military stores," as we learn from Thompson's History of Long Island.

At this time smaller expeditions of a similar character, both regularly and irregularly planned, were undertaken, until the sight of a Connecticut whaleboat brought terror and dismay to the Long Island tory.

CHAPTER VI

Services in France and the Home Field

WHILE the events just described were happening in Connecticut, Lafayette was on his first voyage to America, and supplies from France were reaching this country as the result of the mission of a Connecticut man, whose efforts in the early years of the Revolution were of great importance.

In March 1776 Silas Deane was appointed by Congress a commissioner to France—or, as his commission reads, "one of the delegates from the Colony of Connecticut, * * * appointed to go into France, there to transact such business commercial and political as we have committed to his Care and Behalf, and by Authority of the Congress of the thirteen united Colonies." Pursuing this mission, which was certainly a most delicate and important one, he reached Paris in the following July, where he remained incognito while studying the situation. The result was, that upon gaining an audience with the Count de Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Deane bargained with that brilliant dramatist, merchant, and politician Pierre Auguste Beaumarchais, to supply, through a shadowy mercantile house called Rodrique Hortalez and Company, twenty-eight mortars, two hundred brass cannon, clothing for thirty thousand soldiers, and large quantities of small arms, ammunition, etc. All these, after many difficulties in eluding the watchful eye of the British minister, and avoiding other complications, were at last safely landed from three French ships at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, early in the year 1777. Much of what appears to be Deane's indiscretion and over-zealousness at this time may be forgiven him in view of the successful accomplishment of this important part of his mission. And if he did go so far as to suggest to the committee of secret correspondence the en-

gagement of "a great general of the highest character in Europe, such for instance as Prince Ferdinand, Marshal Broglie" as commander-in-chief of the American army, we must remember that it is to Deane that we owe the final arrangement and agreement with the Marquis de Lafayette.

The career of Deane, from the days of the Ticonderoga expedition of 1775, of which we have found him an active promoter, to his death in voluntary exile and in poverty in 1789, forms one of the saddest stories of the American Revolution. From an ardent patriot, he seems to have been goaded into something like treason to his country by the narrow and prejudiced policy of the Continental Congress of 1777, which failed to recognize the beneficial part of his very difficult and arduous services, and failed to adjust his accounts, leaving his heirs to wait more than half a century for a final and partial adjustment, in 1842. That he made mistakes there can be no doubt, but that he was strictly honest in his financial transactions there is equally no doubt. Notwithstanding his unauthorized engagements with many French officers whom he induced to come to this country, it is hardly too much to say that he gave an impetus to the French alliance which made the treaty of March 1778 an easier task for the three commissioners, Franklin, Deane, and Arthur Lee, than it would otherwise have been. There is, of course, no doubt that this task would have been accomplished without Deane's previous influence, and in spite of Arthur Lee's obstinacy and vindictive enmity to Deane; still we may allow to Deane the credit of paving a portion of the way, and to Burgoyne's surrender the credit of paving the rest.

Of his subsequent career but little can be said in this connection. The documents in his case fill five volumes of the Collections of the New York Historical Society, and occupy

a large portion of the six volumes of Wharton's Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States. From all this it appears that he was embittered by the treatment he received, after his arduous and difficult labors. He was recalled by Congress from France in December 1777. His services, beginning with the Ticonderoga expedition, followed by his important work in organizing the navy, and by his success in obtaining from France sorely-needed stores and munitions of war, were all forgotten; and a large debt justly due him was ignored by Congress, as we have seen. No allowance was made for the difficulties of his situation in France, surrounded as he was by the court intriguers and soldiers of fortune of the days of Louis XVI. To a mercurial temperament like Deane's the treatment of Congress was maddening; and it is but just to credit him with the conviction that such a Congress as that of 1777 could never carry the war to a successful issue. And so we find him apparently pursuing a course to which it is difficult to give a better name than treason, as appears by the so-called "intercepted letters" published by Rivington in 1781, and by earlier letters from George III. to Lord North. Cumulative in this connection is also a letter which he addressed to Governor Trumbull on the 21st of October 1781, before the news of the surrender of Cornwallis had reached England, where Deane then was. In this letter he strongly advises peace at any price, and expresses the utmost distrust of the French alliance and its ultimate results. Governor Trumbull's reply is decidedly plain and strong, closing as it does with these words: "I will sooner consent to load myself, my constituents, and my posterity with a debt equal to the whole property of the country than to consent to a measure so detestably infamous," referring to Deane's proposal of peace at any price.

We can only leave the subject of Deane's unhappy career with the reflection that if he sinned he was sinned against, and that there are some mysteries in his later courses which have never been cleared up.

It was during this same year, 1777, that Connecticut was called upon to do her full share in the final reorganization of the Continental army. As usual, she did her share, and more, and did it promptly. It had now at last dawned upon Congress that Washington's continued demand for an army which it would not be necessary to reorganize once a year or oftener was a reasonable demand. In pursuance of this belief, it was decided to recruit a force for three years, or the war. Of the eighty-eight regiments of infantry to be raised by the thirteen states, eight regiments were assigned as the quota of Connecticut. Measures were taken by the General Assembly, as early as December 1776, to induce men already in the service to remain until their places could be supplied. Committees were appointed to go at once to several of the posts where troops were stationed, and offer bounties and other inducements for re-enlisting men; but the task of these committees was a difficult one, as the men were dissatisfied at remaining unpaid for more than six months, and some of them had been discharged before the committee arrived. By the influence of that sterling patriot General Wooster, most of the men under his command were prevailed upon to stay. To the land bounties and pay voted by Congress for the new Troops of the Line to be raised, the State added other bounties and inducements, though the finances were at so low an ebb that the State Treasurer, John Lawrence, was obliged to issue urgent orders for the collection of taxes in arrears, and urgent appeals for the payment of taxes not yet due.

The quota of Connecticut in the newly enlisted troops was

filled in April 1777, by re-enlistments and recruits; and an additional regiment under command of Colonel Samuel B. Webb was adopted as Continental at about this time. Of other enlistments, Connecticut contributed several companies to a regiment recruited at large under Colonel Moses Hazen, and about one-half of a Rhode Island regiment. Several companies from Connecticut were also in Colonel Seth Warner's regiment, which was accredited to New Hampshire. In addition to this force of infantry, largely in excess of the quota, Colonel Elisha Sheldon's regiment of cavalry was a Connecticut force, as were four companies of artillery, several companies of "Artificers," and a majority of the men in the small but important corps of Sappers and Miners, who remained in the service, with a creditable record at Yorktown. The Wyoming valley, which was by Connecticut enactment and charter rights a part of the state, should not be forgotten as contributing two companies of infantry.

Summing up the enlistments in the Continental Line from the state at this time, we find about ten and a half regiments of infantry, where the quota was eight; one of cavalry, five companies of artillery, and the two companies from the Wyoming valley. This force, or its equivalent, was kept up during the remainder of the war, being reorganized at White Plains into two brigades, and continuing this organization to January 1781; having supplied by recruiting and re-enlistment in 1780, the vacancies which were caused by the expiration of the three years' term of enlistment.

The rendezvous for the Connecticut Continentals at the time of their enlistment was at Peekskill on the Hudson River. After the battle of Brandywine, six of these regiments were ordered to New Jersey, and reached their destination in time to engage in the battle of Germantown, and

the subsequent minor but severe engagements at Fort Mifflin and Whitemarsh, Pennsylvania. They afterwards passed the terrible winter at Valley Forge, with death by starvation and freezing staring them in the face. To no State can relief at this time be so fully accredited as to Connecticut. Upon the urgent letters of Washington to Governor Trumbull, stating that the army must disband unless relief could be sent, the Council of Safety placed in the hands of Colonel Henry Champion and Peter Colt the sum of two hundred thousand dollars for the purchase of "live beef," to be sent in droves to the army at Valley Forge. These droves, with the exception of one hundred and thirty head of cattle, which fell into the hands of the enemy, were safely delivered in midwinter to the starving army at Valley Forge, having been driven some three hundred miles under the personal direction of Colonel Henry Champion and his son Epaphroditus. The first installment of these cattle was devoured by the army in five days.

The official record of the services of the troops of the Connecticut Line is so fully given, both in descriptive text and by annotated muster-rolls in the "Record of Connecticut men in the Military and Naval Service during the War of the Revolution," edited by Professor Henry P. Johnston, that it is unnecessary to give more than an outline taken from that valuable work. In the battle of Monmouth in June, 1778, we find General Huntington's brigade engaged after the shameful retreat of Charles Lee, and Colonel Durkee of Connecticut commanding Varnum's brigade in the same battle. After this, the army moved to White Plains, N. Y., where a reorganization was effected as has been stated. Meantime, from the autumn of 1777, the brigade under General Parsons was the only Connecticut force under Putnam

From an etching by H. B. Hall.

Sam'l W. Webb

at Peekskill. After Burgoyne's surrender, Colonel Charles Webb's regiment from this brigade was ordered to Pennsylvania. On the 8th of December, 1777, this regiment engaged in a sharp skirmish with the enemy at Whitemarsh.

In the battle of Rhode Island, Aug. 29, 1778, Colonel Samuel B. Webb's regiment under Major Ebenezer Huntington was actively engaged, as was Colonel Sherburne's Rhode Island regiment, one half of which was composed of Connecticut men.

For nearly a year from this time no active military operations appear to have been within reach of any of the regiments of the Connecticut Line. They wintered at Redding in their native state from November 1778 to May 1779. In May they were ordered to the Highlands opposite West Point, where they remained until July 10, when Parsons' and Huntington's brigades were ordered to the Connecticut coast for defense against Tryon's raids, which devastated New Haven, Fairfield, Norwalk, and Greenwich, at this time. As usual, Tryon did not wait to be attacked, but escaped with his fleet. Connecticut contributed a full regiment of light infantry under Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs, which took part in the brilliant capture of Stony Point on the 15th of July.

In October, the Division, following the movements of the enemy, was sent to the vicinity of King's Ferry, below Peekskill, and afterwards, for the winter of 1779-80, to Morristown, New Jersey, where the unusually severe weather caused much suffering. With changes of camp to Springfield and Westfield, the Division remained in New Jersey until late in the spring of 1780, when it was once more ordered to the Highlands, where General Jedediah Huntington took command, and commenced recruiting to fill the vacancies caused

by the expiration of the term of service of the men who had enlisted in 1777 for three years.

The summer was passed uneventfully, and in September occurred the treason of Benedict Arnold, upon the discovery of which Colonel Meigs' regiment was sent, with others, at once to West Point, to meet any movements of the enemy which might be made as a result of Arnold's treachery.

This season the Division went into winter quarters in the Highlands, at a point near Robinson's Farm, which they christened "Connecticut Village." In June 1781 they were ordered to Peekskill, and in July to Dobbs' Ferry, to cooperate in the beginning of that great movement which had its crowning victory in the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. It so happened, however, that Washington took with him from this encampment at Dobbs' Ferry only a portion of the Continental Army. Ten of the thirty-six companies of Connecticut men in the new formation of 1781 were with Lafayette, though these ten companies served in newly formed regiments under Colonels Gimat, Scammell, and Alexander Hamilton, none of whom were Connecticut men. These companies saw service in Lafayette's brilliant Virginia campaign, and in the subsequent siege of Yorktown.

Besides Connecticut's active service in the Continental Army, which has been thus briefly outlined, the militia of the state, which was constantly kept up to its quota, performed similar service from 1777 to 1781. Within the borders of the state we have seen them engaged in the defense of Danbury, and we shall find them also engaged in home defense at New Haven, Fairfield, and Norwalk, in 1779, and notably in the Groton massacre of September 1781, not to mention various coast guard duties and alarm services. Outside of their own State, they continued, as in 1776, to reinforce and

co-operate with the Continentals. Early in 1777, three regiments of militia from General Erastus Wolcott's brigade were sent to Peekskill to fill the gap occasioned by the delay in the arrival of new recruits, and remained for about two months. In the northern army, Colonels Jonathan Latimer and Thaddeus Cook each commanded a regiment of Connecticut militia which saw active service in the battles of Bemis' Heights and Saratoga, and suffered more losses in the first of these battles than any other two regiments, winning high commendations from the commanding officer. In this same campaign, too, three hundred volunteers from the militia, upon the call of General Oliver Wolcott, went to the front, arriving in time for the battle of Saratoga. Co-operating in this same campaign, General Gold Selleck Silliman's brigade reinforced Putnam on the Hudson in October, 1777.

Colonel Obadiah Johnson's regiment appears on duty in Rhode Island during January and February of 1778; and at the time of the battle of Rhode Island in August, 1778, we find two regiments of Connecticut militia in the service under Colonels Samuel Chapman and Samuel McClellan. During the same month, Colonel Roger Enos' regiment is found on the Hudson.

It is, perhaps, enough to say of the military service that Connecticut's quota was constantly filled, either by regularly enlisted forces in the Continental Line, or by forces drawn from the State Militia to fill temporary vacancies in the regular quota, or to meet emergencies which, at certain times, could be more promptly met by sending detachments from the militia. With the exception of service in the extreme South, to which, as it happens, no Connecticut troops were assigned, we find them in active service in various fields

and campaigns throughout the entire war, and always acquitting themselves well.

CHAPTER VII

Naval Affairs in Connecticut

OF the share of Connecticut in the navy of the Revolution, it is impossible to speak as accurately as of the military service. From the nature of the case, the Continental Navy was not, and could not be, as thoroughly organized as the Continental Army; and for that reason, if for no other, the records of naval service are incomplete, confusing, and sometimes contradictory. A newly born nation like our United States of 1777 was able, from its own internal resources, as we have seen, to organize an army which could, under the leadership of Washington, achieve and carry to a successful issue the great military campaigns of the Revolution. The importance of such a home navy as we were able to equip has never been fully appreciated. And in the equipment of this home navy, the share of Connecticut is only mentioned very casually by historians. The contributions of the state to this branch of the service may be rather roughly divided into three classes:—the privateers, the State vessels, and the vessels of the Continental Navy.

The captures made indiscriminately by Connecticut vessels of all these three classes in the year 1777 amounted in value, according to the estimate of Isaac W. Stuart, to not less than £200,000 sterling, or about $1,000,000. The distribution of prize-money to the officers and crews was very liberal, being one-half the net value of the captured vessels and cargoes. None the less, however, did these prizes contribute to the resources of the State; for both vessels and cargoes were bought whenever it was possible by the State. It sometimes happened to be necessary, however, to bring the prizes into the harbors of other states, in which case they were usually sold where they lay to avoid the risk of re-capture, the proceeds, however, forming a contribution to the

common cause. The services of privateers, State vessels, and Continental vessels appear to have been quite similar. Merchant vessels of the enemy were of course the legitimate prey of all classes, and in the capture of such prizes our cruisers were constantly encountering British privateers and ships of the line. Often, too, transports with armed convoys of the enemy were encountered, and many prisoners taken.

The Connecticut Navy, especially in the early days of the war, was a motley fleet, composed of boats and shipping of all classes and rigs from whaleboats to frigates, recruited and collected from the merchant marine, from prizes taken from the enemy, and from such vessels as could be built in the times when the resources of the State were strained to the utmost to supply the needs of the army. It must be remembered however, that the industry of shipbuilding was one in which the people had engaged quite extensively in colonial times, and that many of our men were followers of the sea by inheritance and by choice. No doubt, in the building of ships they found themselves much hampered by the lack of iron work, rigging, and armaments which had formerly been supplied by the mother country. But early in the war, we find the iron works of Benjamin Williams and Ebenezer Backus supplying a part of this deficiency, the foundry at Salisbury making cannons and balls for the armaments of the vessels then building, and James Tilley manufacturing cordage.

In 1777, two frigates were built in Connecticut for the Continental Navy. One of these, a ship or frigate of twenty-eight guns, was built at Chatham on the Connecticut River, and was called the Trumbull. This vessel was manned mostly by New London sailors, and was commanded by Dudley Saltonstall of New London. The other Continental vessel, the Confederacy, had an armament of thirty-six guns, and

was built on the Thames River at Brewster's Neck, a few miles below Norwich. Captain Seth Harding, formerly of the State naval service, was placed in command.

Neither of these vessels can be said to be, according to nautical parlance, "lucky." The Trumbull, in June 1780, engaged the British ship Williamson, or Watt, of thirty-six guns, in a fight lasting nearly three hours, which proved to be one of the bloodiest and fiercest sea-fights of the war. The Trumbull was dismasted, and would have been an easy prey for her antagonist, had not she also been so disabled that she was obliged to withdraw, with a loss of ninety-two men in killed and wounded, the loss of the Trumbull being thirty-nine men. This ship was afterwards forced to surrender to two British men-of-war, the Iris and the General Monk, which vessels overtook her in a disabled condition, after a storm.

Even less fortunate was the larger Connecticut-built vessel, the Confederacy. On her first cruise, her masts were lost, one by one, and she put in at Martinque with six feet of water in the hold. After being refitted, the first ship of the enemy which the Confederacy encountered was a seventy-four ship of the line, accompanied by a frigate, to which vastly superior force she was obliged to surrender.

Of the vessels built or bought and fitted out by direction of the General Assembly or Council of Safety, and placed in commission under direction of the State, the following imperfect but carefully revised list will give some indications:

America, brig, Captain John Mott.

Crane, row galley, Captain Jehiel Tinker, built at East Haddam in 1777.

Defence, ship, Captain Seth Harding, Captain Samuel Smedley, built at Essex in 1776; lengthened and ship-rigged, 1777.

Dolphin, sloop (prize), Captain Robert Niles, 1777.

Fanny, sloop, Captain ——— Whittlesey, 1777.

Guilford, sloop (prize), Captain William Nott, name changed from "Mars."

Guinea Man, ship (prize), ——— ———, captured, 1776.

Hancock, ship (prize), ——— Manly, formerly brig Weymouth.

Minerva, brig, Captain Giles Hall, chartered by State; afterwards privateer.

Nancy, brig (prize), ——— ———, on record, 1777.

New Defence, row galley, Captain Samuel Barker, built at Branford, 1779.

Old Defence, brig, Captain Daniel Deshon, Captain William Coit, built at Saybrook, 1776. Largest state vessel.

Oliver Cromwell, ship, Captain Seth Harding, Captain Timothy Parker.

Putnam, ship, Captain Thomas Allen. Continental?

Resistance, brig, Captain Samuel Chew.

Schuyler, schooner, Captain ——— Hawley.

Shark, row galley, Captain Theodore Stanton, built at Norwich, 1776.

Spy, schooner, Captain Robert Niles, formerly Britannia, bought, 1776.

Whiting, row galley, Captain John McCleave, built at New Haven, 1776.

Of the privateers fitted out in Connecticut, Admiral George F. Emmons compiled a list, revised by Mr. Thomas S. Collier, making a total of 202 vessels, carrying 1,609 guns and 7,754 men. This list is confessedly imperfect, as it contains among other inaccuracies the Schooner Spy, which by the official record was the Schooner Britannia, bought by the

State and renamed. The list also contains the galleys Crane and Shark, which were built by the State. Doubtless, too, the inaccuracies of the recording landsmen of the day gave us for one vessel several of the same name, called sometimes a ship, sometimes a sloop, or by any other designating class name which would answer the recorder's purpose. Thus we have three Chathams, a ship, a boat, and a sloop; two Eagles, a schooner and a sloop; and the Continental frigate Governor Trumbull appears in the list as a privateer under command of Captain Dudley Saltonstall.

It is impossible within the present limits to trace the cruises and exploits of our State vessels and privateers. A few typical or leading instances must suffice.

Among the State vessels, one of the smallest was the little Schooner Spy, of about fifty tons burden. The name was probably given to this vessel to signify the service she was expected to perform, by coasting along the Long Island shore and elsewhere, detecting illicit trade with the enemy, making such captures and gaining such information as chance might throw in her way. One of the former appears to have been the Sloop Dolphin, of eighty tons, which vessel was placed for a time in command of Captain Robert Niles, her captor. Captain Niles was restored to the Spy during the following year for a very important service, the carrying to Paris of an officially confirmed copy of the treaty of alliance with France. Of the six vessels undertaking this service, she was the only one which escaped capture, possibly for the reason that it seemed impossible to the enemy that so small a vessel would cross the Atlantic as an American war-vessel. In the records of the Council of Safety for July 1779, we read:

"Cap. Niles came in having arrived home last Saturday

after having been twice captured &c.—gave an account of his voyage &c.—arrived at Paris in 27 days after he sailed, which was beginning June, 1778, and delivered his mail to Dr. Franklin, containing the ratification by Congress of the Treaty with France, being the first account he had received of that event, which was greatly satisfactory to him and the French ministry and nation in general &c."

It appears from this and other records that the Spy, having fulfilled her mission, was captured by the British; as a newspaper item of April 15, 1779, mentions the arrival from New York of "Mr. Mortimer, late mate of the Schooner Spy," having come from England as a seaman, and having escaped upon his arrival in New York. The voyage of the Spy across the Atlantic was remarkably short for so small a vessel, being reported as twenty-one days from Stonington to Brest.

More fortunate than the two Continental frigates built in Connecticut were the two State ships Defence and Oliver Cromwell, also built in the State. Within a month from the beginning of her first cruise, the Defence under Captain Seth Harding captured three transports, with three hundred and thirty-two officers and men of General Frazier's regiment of Highlanders. Two of these transports, an armed ship and an armed brig, were captured in one engagement on the 17th of June, 1776, at Nantasket, their capture forming a fitting celebration of the first anniversary of Bunker Hill. The other transport was captured on the following day. The loss of the enemy in these engagements is reported as eighteen killed, and many wounded. Nine men of the Defence were wounded, but none killed. The ship was so badly damaged in the engagement, however, that she was obliged to put in at New London to refit.

During the following September, the Defence captured the ship John of two hundred tons, with a valuable cargo of sugar, rum, and cotton; also the ship then or afterwards called the Guineaman, which will be found in the list as presumably in the service of the State after her capture. In January 1777, during the illness of Captain Harding, Lieutenant Samuel Smedley was placed in command of the Defence, and captured during his cruise the snow Swift, the schooner Anna, and the bark Lydia. He also captured in the following April a "West Indiaman" called the Grog. In the following May Captain Smedley received his commission as permanent commander of the Defence, Captain Harding having been transferred to the Oliver Cromwell. About this time the Defence was lengthened and changed from a brig to a ship. Her original tonnage having been two hundred and sixty, the change must have made her a formidable ship for the times.

She sailed from Boston in March 1778; and not long afterward, in company with the Oliver Cromwell, captured, after a sharp engagement, the British war vessels Admiral Keppel and Cygnus, the latter being the prize of the Defence. In the following March this ship met an untimely end by shipwreck, in which her guns and most of her stores were saved.

The ship Oliver Cromwell, of twenty guns, was built at Saybrook in 1776; but owing to difficulties with the crew, her first cruise did not begin until May 1777, with Captain Seth Harding in command, and Timothy Parker as first lieutenant. In this cruise, the prizes were the brig Weymouth, sixteen guns, taken for State service under the name Hancock, and the brig Honor, a prize which, with the cargo, sold for $53,000.

In the following May, during a cruise of only twelve days, the Cromwell captured four prizes and sixty prisoners. On the 5th of the following June she encountered the British frigate Daphne. A sharp engagement of two hours ensued, in the course of which the mainmast of the Cromwell was shot away. At this juncture a British war vessel came to the asistance of the Daphne, and the Cromwell was forced to surrender. Captain Parker and many of his men were confined in the prison ship Jersey, from which it is reported that Captain Parker made his escape on the ice during the following severe winter.

Of the exploits of the privateers, it is perhaps enough to say that they were hardly inferior to the exploits of the Continental and State vessels. They were, however, as a rule, not as well manned or equipped as the other classes of vessels, and there is no doubt that the hope of securing rich prizes was a strong incentive to the daring and adventurous cruises which they undertook.

The most brilliant record of privateer service to be found is that of the sloop Beaver, carrying twelve three-pounders and sixty-five men. Under command of Captain Dodge, she had a narrow escape from being captured in May 1778, by a British frigate which chased her into the harbor of New London. We do not hear of her again until March 1779, when, under command of Captain William Havens, she cruised in company with the ship Hancock, Captain Elisha Hinman commander, and assisted in capturing the British privateer brig Bellona of sixteen guns, the sloop Lady Erskine of ten guns, "and several other vessels from a fleet from New York, convoyed by the Thames frigate of thirty-six guns." Later in the same month, while the Beaver lay in New London undergoing repairs, a British fleet was descried

near the entrance to the harbor. Hastily bending sails and adjusting rigging, Captain Havens gathered some fifty volunteers, and set sail toward the British fleet, in the guise of a merchant vessel. The ruse succeeded in drawing an armed British vessel to pursue him; and when the pursuer had approached within easy range, the twelve three-pounders of the Beaver were suddenly unmasked and brought to bear upon the British vessel, which soon struck her colors, and was brought into New London as the prize of the Beaver. Nine prizes were captured by this vessel, taken either in company with other vessels, or by the Beaver alone; and in the record of her service which Mr. Thomas S. Collier has traced, we find occasional mention of several unnamed prizes which should be placed to her credit.

It was not only in the prizes actually captured that the naval service of Connecticut was important. The coast of the State was continually infested with British vessels and fleets passing through Long Island Sound, at first with a feeling of security in the belief that such a thing as an American war vessel was either an impossibility or a farce; but later with far more caution, in view of the exploits of the American war vessels and their increasing number. We have seen, too, that the naval service of Connecticut extended to all parts of the world where a British fleet could be encountered, or successful cruises of any kind could be undertaken. It is safe to say that during the war no fewer than two hundred and fifty armed vessels of various classes were fitted out in this little State for naval service. Their fortunes, of course, were varied; but the moral effect which they produced as a factor in defensive and offensive warfare has never been fully appreciated.

This moral effect, too, was considerably enhanced by the

ingenuity of David Bushnell of Saybrook, to whose mechanical skill is due the invention of one of the first marine torpedoes, if not the very first, known to naval warfare. It cannot be said that this invention, regarded as it probably was at the time, as the device of a "crank," was successful in destroying vessels of the enemy. It was successful in creating consternation among them, however, as in the case of the British frigate Cerberus, whose crew, seeing a line to which one of these torpedoes was attached floating in the water, cautiously pulled in the machine to which the line was attached, and found it to be one of Bushnell's "American turtles," weighing some four hundred pounds, which exploded on the deck of the Cerberus, and it is reported to have killed several men. And in the case of Lord Howe's flagship, the Eagle, against which another of Bushnell's turtles was directed, the machine narrowly missed the ship, exploding nearby with a tremendous report, and sending "a vast column of water to an amazing height," so that the British fleet near the Battery at New York prudently withdrew to a safer anchorage.

This torpedo has also furnished inspiration to one of the poets of the Revolution, Francis Hopkinson, whose well-known ballad, "The Battle of the Kegs," continues to live, and will probably live long in the literature of the time.

The inventor, David Bushnell, was very favorably regarded by Governor Trumbull, who recommended him to Washington, from whom he received a prominent appointment in the corps of Sappers and Miners, doing good service at Yorktown.

CHAPTER VIII

Warfare on Connecticut Soil

ALTHOUGH the military and naval service of Connecticut was, as we have seen, performed almost entirely on other soils and in other waters than her own, she had already suffered from and repulsed Tryon's raid on Danbury, and was soon to suffer from other marauding expeditions under the same leader. But the culmination of her suffering lay in the fact that two of the most horrible and cruel massacres which the annals of the Revolution record were enacted on Connecticut soil. These were the Wyoming massacre and the Groton massacre.

It is unnecessary to say more than has already been said in the earlier chapters of this history regarding the proprietorship of Connecticut in the Wyoming valley. In the days of the Revolution, Westmoreland, now in Pennsylvania, was by charter rights, by legislative enactment, and still more by actual settlement, first a part of Litchfield County, and afterwards a separate county of this State, with due representation in the General Assembly. It was Connecticut soil at this time, whatever it may be now. After the struggles for maintaining possession in the earlier days, we find that in 1776 troubles arose from Tory interlopers from New York, who were dealt with after the customary fashion of the State in such cases; and from prying Pennsylvanias who settled among the Connecticut people with a view to gaining a foothold and defeating the claims of the original settlers. At this time these settlers had sent from their twenty-five hundred inhabitants two full companies which joined the Continental army, thus drawing from the population of Wyoming, or Westmoreland, nearly all the most serviceable men, and leaving the valley an easy prey to the invader. Sharing in more than due proportion in the heavy taxation imposed by the

State, the people were sadly impoverished, and the fortifications so much needed in 1778 were built by volunteers who received no wages for their labor. In the spring of 1778, the situation was alarming. These Connecticut settlers were surrounded on all sides by enemies impelled by various motives to wreak vengeance upon them. Their Pennsylvania neighbors were certainly hostile to them at all times; and in New York there were many Tories who had been expelled from the settlement, and who were, for that reason, only too ready and eager to aid in an attack on Wyoming. To the Indians, too, who had already met rebuffs in this section, Wyoming stood not only as a tempting prey, but as a barrier to the German settlements beyond the Blue Ridge, which were also a tempting field for Indian depredations. At this time, all these enemies—British, Tories, and Indians—had combined under command of Colonel John Butler, to the number of about twelve hundred; and the months of May and June 1778 witnessed much cautious scouting, with a view to a final attack.

The two companies from Wyoming, now consolidated in one company serving in New Jersey, were sadly needed for the defense of their homes. Appeals to Congress for their return from the field were disregarded, and as soon as tidings reached them that their homes were threatened with an attack, all the officers resigned and came home at once, accompanied by about thirty of the men, who, if not furloughed, may be credited with honorable desertion. As if in derision of the people, Congress had gravely issued an order to this little community to raise, arm, and equip a company of men for their own defense—an unnecessary enactment for a Connecticut county, as the organization of militia was as well perfected here as in other parts of the State, and was

only limited and hampered by the lack of men of military age. But now military age was disregarded, for every man and boy who could bear arms volunteered for the defense of their homes.

Home forces to the number of about three hundred were thus hastily mustered from the enrolled militia, and from old men, boys, and men of peace who volunteered. Colonel Zebulon Butler was placed in command. He was well fitted for the position, having had twenty years' experience in the military service of this State, and being at the time Lieutenant-Colonel of the Third Connecticut Regiment of the Continental Line.

On the 30th of June the enemy had concentrated forces at the head of the Wyoming valley, and were given possession of Fort Wintermoot by its Tory occupant. On the same day a stockade called Fort Jenkins was easily taken from its garrison of ten old men. This garrison had consisted of seventeen men, of whom four had been killed and three made prisoners on their return from their work in the field on the same day. Meanwhile the news of the invasion had spread throughout the valley, and the settlers, including women and children, flocked to the nearest forts or stockades for protection. The largest of these was called Forty Fort, a name commemorating the number of the original settlers. On the morning of July 3d a demand was made to surrender this fort, and the entire valley, to Colonel John Butler and his motley array of British and Tory soldiers and Indians. After a council of war, it was decided not only to refuse to surrender, but to commence an aggressive movement at once; though in this latter decision Colonels Zebulon Butler, Nathan Denison, and George Dorrance did not concur, believing that de-

lay might bring reinforcements to the handful of men under their command.

The council of war having decided upon the desperate expedient of an attack, Colonel Zebulon Butler lost no time in stationing his little force in the best possible position near Fort Wintermoot, and in opening fire upon the enemy, advancing with each volley. This advance appeared to cause the enemy's forces to fall back, but this movement on their part was doubtless a ruse to lure the devoted Wyoming men to their own destruction; for in following up this supposed advantage they soon found themselves exposed to a galling fire from the Seneca Indians on their right flank, which was completely surrounded. Colonel Denison's order to wheel and front the enemy was misunderstood or disregarded, and a retreat and rout at once began. The Indians, adding to their deadly aim in the attack the weird, ominous yell of the war-whoop, now started in hot pursuit of the fugitives, giving no quarter, and gathering a harvest of scalps for which they are said to have been rewarded at the rate of ten dollars each by the British. The American officers behaved with great bravery, every captain who led a company into the action having been killed at the head of his company. Two field officers, Colonel George Dorrance and Major John Garrett, were added to the roll of honor. This short and desperate fight against overwhelming odds resulted in a loss of one hundred and eighty-two Americans, whose names are recorded on the Wyoming monument. The loss of the enemy has never been ascertained by historians, but was comparatively slight.

The Indians to whose account stands the record of murders and tortures which followed the battle were mostly, if not entirely, of the Seneca tribe of the Six Nations, under the lead-

From an old print.

MASSACRE OF WYOMING

ership of Sayenguaraghton, or Old Chief. The contemporary accounts, followed by historians down to a very recent date, insist that Brant was the leader of the Indians in this affair; but his own denial, as well as documentary evidence published for the first time in 1889, bears out the statement that "Old Chief," whose name antiquarians have found spelled in twenty-seven different ways, commanded the Indian forces at this time. His command appears to have been almost if not entirely independent of the leader, Colonel John Butler, upon whom, however, rests the responsibility of attaching to his forces a band of Indians whose savage instincts could not be restrained. Of the scenes which followed the battle, it is unnecessary to speak. Those who were killed on the field were fortunate when compared with those who were taken alive and reserved for the fate devised by the old Indian hag, Queen Esther, who is said to have slain with her own hands sixteen of these hapless victims. It is enough to say that the prisoners of war who, to a large number, fell into the hands of the Indians after the battle, were subjected to all the cruelties and tortures which Indian ingenuity could devise, and that plunder and the destruction of the dwellings of the settlers followed.

Although it does not appear that any women or children were killed by the Indians at this time or during the week of terror and destruction which followed the surrender, the fate of many of the survivors was hardly less pitiful than that of their husbands and protectors who fell in battle or died in torture. A panic seized the survivors, who were mostly widowed women and orphaned children, and a precipitate flight through the surrounding wilderness began. With their homes in ashes or in the hands of the Indians, these poor people fled without provisions for their long march, and in

continual dread of the savage enemy, whose devilish instincts were aroused to the full by the sight of blood and slaughter, and the consciousness of victory. Captain John Franklin, who had arrived on the night of the third of July, just after the battle, with thirty-five men, despatched a messenger to Wilkesbarre on the morning of the fourth, who soon returned, reporting that the only safety was in flight, that every passage through the surrounding swamp was crowded with fugitives, and that there were in one company about one hundred women and children with but one man, Jonathan Fitch, to protect or advise them. Most of these unfortunates had come from within the present limits of Connecticut, and knew of no safe abiding place until they could reach their former homes. Their sufferings for lack of food and shelter can be but faintly imagined. Children were born, and children and aged women died, on the way. The kind aid and comfort which these refugees received from the few German families along their route should never be forgotten. Much suffering was alleviated, and doubtless many lives saved, through the instrumentality of these kindly people.

Many of the refugees reached their early homes once more, bereft of their all, excepting only the devastated farms they had left behind them in the beautiful Wyoming valley, three hundred miles away. And many a boy as he approached man's estate, with here and there a grown man who had survived the massacre, returned with true Connecticut grit and fixedness of purpose, to reclaim the desolated farms, and face the dangers which had grown thicker in his absence.

Late in this same year, 1778, General Putnam, who, since we left him at White Plains in 1776, had been in command at Philadelphia, and later in the Highlands of the Hudson River, was placed in command of three brigades, which under

a new arrangement were stationed in Connecticut near Danbury, the principal encampment being at Redding. The object of this disposition of forces was "the protection of the country lying along the Sound, to cover our magazines lying on the Connecticut River, and to aid the Highlands on any serious movement of the enemy that way."

Winter had begun when the camp was completed and occupied. In the leisure and inactivity of their winter quarters, the soldiers had ample time to reflect on their deprivations and to long for the comforts of home. There is no doubt that they suffered from lack of blankets and clothing, and that they were no better fed than they should be. Their pay, too, was irregular, and the little Continental money they received was fast losing its purchasing power. On the 30th of December, the men of Huntington's brigade assembled under arms, and declared their intention of marching to Hartford to present their grievances to the General Assembly. Putnam's tact and personal magnetism were equal to the occasion, serious though it was. He addressed the men in a few pointed, spirited words, which General Humphreys has preserved for us in substance if not verbatim, after which they cheerfully obeyed the order to shoulder arms and march back to their quarters; and thus the affair ended.

Late in the following February Governor Tryon attempted a border raid on Connecticut for the purpose of destroying the salt works in and about Greenwich, which formed an important source of supply to the Continentals. On the morning of the 26th, he appeared at New Rochelle, with a force of about fifteen hundred men. This force was discovered by Captain Titus Hosmer, who rode post-haste to Horseneck and gave the alarm to the small force of outposts at that place. Putnam happened to be in a house in the vicinity. Traditions

vary, as usual in the case of Putnam, as to the house; but the weight of evidence appears to designate a tavern, kept at the time by Israel Knapp. Wherever the General may have been when the alarm reached him, he rushed Putnam-like to his men, and at once formed his little force of one hundred and fifty on the "hill by the meeting-house." The enemy, with a force outnumbering the Americans ten to one, advanced, and after discharging some old field pieces and giving them "a small fire of musketry," Putnam's men retreated to avoid capture. Here occurred a famous episode, spirited pictures of which still embellish our school histories. As Putnam spurred towards Stamford for reinforcements, he soon found himself pursued by several British dragoons who fast gained upon him. After a chase of a quarter of a mile, with one of the pursuers within two lengths of him, he sharply turned his horse from the road, and made for the brow of a steep declivity near by, down which he forced his horse at full gallop. The dragoons reined in their horses as the old hero dashed down the precipice, not daring to follow, but discharging their pistols at the fugitive, who escaped unhurt, though the escape was narrow, as a bullet pierced his military cap. It is said that Tryon on his return made him a present of a new cap or chapeau, some historians going so far as to state that the present was an entire uniform. He pursued his way to Stamford, and returned as soon as possible with reinforcements; but the enemy, as usual in expeditions under Tryon's command, had disappeared, having destroyed the salt works, pillaged houses at Greenwich, and committed other depredations.

It is quite probable that Tryon's activity in raiding Connecticut during this year 1779 was due, in great measure, to a reply he had received from Governor Trumbull to the pro-

posal of Lord North's conciliatory plan, which Tryon undertook to negotiate in Connecticut. Governor Trumbull's letter reads as follows:

"April 23d, 1778. Sir. Your letter of the 17th instant, from New York, is received with its enclosures, and the several similar packets of various addresses with which it was accompanied.

"Propositions of peace are usually made from the supreme authority of one contending power to the similar authority of the other; and the present is the first instance within my recollection, where a vague, half blank, and very indefinite draft of a bill, once only read before one of three bodies of the Legislature of the Nation, has ever been addressed to the people at large of the opposite power, as an overture of reconciliation.

"There was a day when even this step, from our then acknowledged parent State, might have been accepted with joy and gratitude; but this day, Sir, is past irrevocably. The repeated, insolent rejection of our sincere and sufficiently humble petitions; the unbrooked commencement of hostilities; the barbarous inhumanity which has marked the prosecution of the war on your part in its several stages; the insolence which displays itself on every petty advantage; the cruelties which have been exercised on those unhappy men whom the fortune of war has thrown into your hands; all these are insuperable bars to the very idea of concluding a peace with Great Britain on any other conditions than the most perfect and absolute independence. To the Congress of the United States of America, therefore, all proposals of this kind are to be addressed; and you will give me leave, Sir, to say, that the present mode bears too much the marks of an insidious design to disunite the people, and lull them into a

state of quietude and negligence of the necessary preparations for the approaching campaign. If this be the real design, it is fruitless. If peace be really the object, let your proposals be addressed properly to the proper power, and your negotiations be honorably conducted; and we shall then have some prospect of (what is the most ardent wish of every honest American,) a lasting and honorable peace.

"The British nation may then, perhaps, find us affectionate and valuable friends, as we are now determined and fatal enemies; and will derive from that friendship more solid and real advantage than the most sanguine can expect from conquest."

Tryon's border raid at Horseneck was the beginning of a series of wanton attacks on Connecticut, such as might be expected of a leader who in the brutal affair of the Regulators had acquired the name of "the wolf of North Carolina," and who seemed bent on sustaining the reputation which the name implied, and adapting it to more northern latitudes.

On the 5th of July, as the people of New Haven were preparing to celebrate the third anniversary of American independence, he appeared off West Haven with a fleet of forty vessels with the purpose of invading their peaceful homes. The naval commander of this fleet was Sir George Collier, who appears to have been responsible for little if anything beyond the transportation of the troops. His name, however, is coupled with Tryon's in a proclamation in which they jointly declare indemnity to all who peacefully occupy their homes during the invasion, and to civil and military officers who "give proofs of their penitence and voluntary submission."

In the early morning, the Division of General George Garth, who was second in command, landed at West Haven.

The number of men in this division was, according to varying contemporary estimates, eight hundred to twelve hundred. The number under Tryon's command was probably about twelve hundred. This force landed later in the morning at East Haven. The people of New Haven were taken completely by surprise, but hastily mustered volunteers and militia to the number of about one hundred and fifty men under Colonel Hezekiah Sabin, jr., who went forward at once to oppose and harass General Garth's advance from West Haven. Among the New Haven volunteers was a small company of young men, mostly college students, under Captain James Hillhouse, jr., who appear to have been first in engaging the enemy, firing upon them at Milford Hill. The disparity of numbers prevented anything like a general engagement, but the galling fire which was kept up harassed the enemy on their march, and caused them some losses. Among the killed was Adjutant Campbell, a very popular young British officer. On the side of the Americans the loss of Captain John Hotchkiss fully offset the loss of Adjutant Campbell. During General Garth's march to New Haven, the fast increasing number of defenders of their homes caused more and more trouble, compelling him to abandon his original line of march, and proceed by a more circuitous route along the Derby road. Near the Derby bridge a hot encounter occurred, in which a number of prisoners were taken from the enemy. Again, at the entrance to New Haven there was fierce fighting, with a number killed on both sides. At last Garth's division entered the town after a march of eight hours, during which he had been continually harassed by our hastily mustered forces. His men were now ripe for plunder, murder, and rapine, and at once began their fiendish work. From the affidavits of sufferers which appear

in the State Records of Connecticut, we may learn of robberies and rapes of defenseless women, the murder of two aged men, Benjamin English and Nathan Beers, during a reign of terror which goes far to blacken the record of the British and Hessian soldiers of the Revolution.

Tryon effected a landing on the east side of the harbor towards noon of the same day, and with his twelve hundred men or more, and the assistance of a cannonade from the fleet, succeeded in silencing Fort Hale with its armament of three guns and its garrison of nineteen men, after a brave and stubborn resistance, in which the garrison finally spiked the guns and retreated. Before beginning this military exploit, the handsome residence of Captain Amos Morris had been burned by Tryon's men, perhaps as a specimen of the immunity which his proclamation promised. On his march to the commanding position known as Beacon Hill, he met with a reception in the afternoon similar to that which Garth had met in the morning.. The handful of militia and others who had gathered to resist the invader, harassed the enemy in true Lexington fashion, and inflicted and received some losses. A bronze tablet on Beacon Hill commemorates the defense of New Haven at this point, a defense as stubborn and brave as the annals of the Revolution can show, when the disparity of numbers is considered.

As usual in such marauding expeditions, the invading soldiers gave themselves up to drunken rioting. The contemporary diary of Dr. Ezra Stiles relates that on the next morning "those fit for duty (for they had been very drunk) crossed the ferry and joined Gov. Tryon's Corps or Division on Beacon Hill half a mile from the water." At this time four regiments of militia were coming to the rescue, and were placed in command of General Andrew Ward, who had

directed the defensive movement of the previous day. These four regiments mustered about one thousand men, and proved sufficient to cause Tryon and his twenty-five hundred men to seek safety in flight, as usual in such cases. They embarked at once on board their ships in search of a safer field for their depredations, having burned at New Haven only a few warehouses and vessels.

The casualties of the Americans at New Haven were twenty-three killed and nineteen wounded. From Tryon's official report, taken for what it is worth, the loss of the invaders was nine killed, forty wounded, and twenty-five missing. The proportion of wounded to killed among the Americans as compared with the British appears to support the statement that practically no quarter was given to the Americans who were wounded.

On the morning of July 8th, Tryon with his Hessians and British appeared at Fairfield. Repeating the programme of the attack on New Haven, Garth's Division landed at the western portion of the town, and Tryon's division at the eastern. Although Fairfield was an easy prey, and although the proclamation which had been issued at New Haven was repeated here, the few men who could be mustered for the defense of the town showed true Connecticut grit and heroism, using a field-piece to advantage in opposing their advance, and holding their little fort, with its garrison of twenty-three men under Lieutenant Isaac Jarvis, against an attack from a British galley, sent from the fleet with the expectation of silencing this little stronghold. The fiendish barbarities enacted at New Haven were repeated and more than repeated at Fairfield; for, after a night of plunder, rapine and arson, the work of destruction was completed by burning the entire town, two hundred and eighteen buildings

in all, of which ninety-seven were dwelling houses. The court-house, the jail, three churches, and two schoolhouses shared the fate of the dwellings. But few buildings escaped, and the inhabitants of the town were left homeless, and in many instances were robbed of their all. The village of Green's Farms, an outlying parish of Fairfield, also perished in the flames. In his official report, Tryon gives as his reason for this wholesale incendiarism that the Americans fired on his men from some of the houses. Before most of the houses were burned, he had sent, by a flag of truce, his stereotype proclamation, in which he had said among other things: "The existence of a single habitation on your defenceless coast ought to be a subject of constant reproof to your ingratitude," to which Colonel Samuel Whiting promptly sent the following reply:

"Connecticut having nobly dared to take up arms against the cruel despotism of Britain, and as the flames have now preceded the answer to your flag, they will persist to oppose to the utmost that power exerted against injured innocence."

The determined resistance of the few men under Colonel Whiting, and the gathering and rumors of gathering of militia from the neighboring towns, were with Tyron a sufficient cause for withdrawing his forces, which he did on the morning of the 8th of July, under a running fire from the militia and volunteers.

Crossing to Huntington, Long Island, the fleet remained until the 10th, taking in supplies, and waiting to spring upon its next defenceless victim. Norwalk was selected, and late in the evening of the 10th all the attacking forces were landed with the exception of the "King's American Regiment (Tories)", which joined the others before dawn on the morning of the 11th. The forces were divided as usual, approach-

ing the town by different routes. Garth, with his division, came through what is now South Norwalk, and Tryon ,with his division, marched on the easterly side to the heart of the town, establishing himself on Grumman's hill, where, in a comfortable chair still preserved among Norwalk relics, he watched the burning of the town, inspired perhaps by the example of Nero.

The number of defenders at Norwalk appears to have been larger than is generally supposed. From the diary of Ezra Stiles we learn that "Major Gen. Woolcott & B. Gen. Parsons with Militia & Continentals fr. 900 to *Eleven hundred* opposed them. Our men gave way." Tryon, in his exaggerated official report says that "they were said to be upwds of Two Thousd." From the draft of an unpublished letter of General Oliver Wolcott's, presumably addressed to General Heath ,and now in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society, we learn that he "with about seven hundred of Militia arrived at Norwalk about Twenty-four hours before the destruction of that Town." From a letter of General Parsons to Governor Trumbull, it appears that he also was present at the time of the destruction of Norwalk, with what force we do not learn; but it appears by the affidavit of Captain Stephen Betts that he, under these generals, was in command of about fifty Continentals; so Dr. Stiles cannot be far from correct in his estimate of the total number of defenders. Tryon's own report of his casualties, erroneously quoted by Barber and others, admits but two killed and twenty-three wounded. Although this need not be taken as final authority, it appears that owing to the late arrival of the undisciplined militia the defense did not assume the form of a pitched battle.

Tryon withdrew precipitately from Norwalk as soon as his

work of destruction was completed. On the 10th of July, General Heath had received orders from Washington to march with two Connecticut brigades, from his headquarters in the Highlands, "towards Bedford." Having learned of Tryon's raid at New Haven and Fairfield, Heath at once proceeded in that direction with Parsons' and Huntington's brigades, but only reached Ridgefield on the 13th. Learning that the enemy had then left Norwalk, and threatened Stamford, he proceeded in that direction, making a demonstration at Stamford which doubtless prevented the cautious Tryon from making a descent upon that town.

The loss of life among the Americans at Norwalk appears to have been small; but the destruction of property was large, being one hundred and thirty-five dwellings, eighty-nine barns, twenty-five shops, five vessels, and four mills.

CHAPTER IX

The Groton Massacre

THE pitiful story of Arnold's treason is too well known to call for a detailed recital in this connection. It cannot be denied that he was a Connecticut man, nor need it be cited as an instance of the sagacity of his native State that he never bore a Connecticut commission. It must even be confessed that he did bear such a commission, as Captain of the Second Company of Governor's Foot Guards, which has already received honorable mention in a previous chapter. If such a man as Washington could trust him with the command of West Point, which he so basely betrayed, it is absurd to set up the wisdom of the General Assembly of Connecticut in military matters as superior to the wisdom of Washington. The fact is, that the same General Assembly of this stanch little State would have been proud to issue a commission to Arnold at any time in his earlier brilliant career, and thus to have shared more closely in his record at Quebec, at Saratoga, and at Ridgefield. His native State, as the record stands, can claim her share in the great glory of the first five years of his career during the Revolution, and must bear her share of the still greater shame of the last two years.

Hartford and its vicinity will always be memorable as the place where Washington held important conferences with the leading French officers. On the 25th of September, 1780, he was returning from one of these conferences, in company with Lafayette. It was his unexpected arrival and the capture of André which prevented the treacherous surrender of West Point which Arnold had planned. Thus the sequel to the Hartford conference was fortunate in its results, even though it failed of its most wished-for result, the capture of

the traitor himself, who probably would never have been taken alive.

Under the commission of a Brigadier General in the British army, he commenced a career which forms a sad contrast to the brilliant record of heroic service in the army of his own people. He was first detailed with sixteen hundred men for service in Virginia of a character quite similar to Tryon's service in Connecticut during the summer of 1779. In May 1781 we find him reporting to Sir Henry Clinton, the burning of warehouses, barracks, tobacco, and provisions, at various points in Virginia.

On the 22d of this same month, another conference of Washington with Rochambeau and others was taking place at Wethersfield, at the house of Joseph Webb. There were present at this conference Generals Knox and Duportail and the Marquis de Chastellux. A plan of campaign was then and there agreed upon which makes this one of the most important councils of the Revolution, and has given to it the name of the Wethersfield conference. It is sometimes stated that the Yorktown campaign was planned at this conference, but this is saying too much. The most that can be said of it is that the combination of forces which brought about the defeat and surrender of Cornwallis was planned at this conference. The military movement decided upon at the time was an attack on New York with a view to gaining possession of that important point, and withdrawing the British forces from the South for its defense. The French fleet, then in the West Indies, formed a rather uncertain factor in this plan, and it was finally upon receiving a despatch from DeGrasse that he would enter the Chesapeake on his arrival off the coast, that the great movement against Yorktown was sud-

denly undertaken, nearly four months after the Wethersfield conference.

As one of the results of this conference, the French legion under command of the Duc de Lauzun, which had been cantoned at Lebanon since November 1780, was ordered in the June following to join the main army in New York; much to the relief of the gay young nobleman in command, who in his autobiography compares Lebanon to Siberia. This legion, with other French troops which passed through Connecticut at about this time, saw some skirmishing in New York, and later did good service at Yorktown.

On the 5th of September, 1781, Washington with the allied forces was embarking at the head of Chesapeake bay, the waters of which were blockaded by the French fleet. On this day the famous engagement between the French and British fleet took place, the result of which made the defeat of Cornwallis possible. On the same afternoon a fleet of thirty-two British transports and war vessels, carrying troops to the number of two thousand under command of the traitor Arnold, appeared in Long Island Sound, and arrived off the harbor of New London at one o'clock on the following morning. Owing to adverse winds, the harbor was not reached until about nine o'clock. Sir Henry Clinton at New York was just awakening to a full comprehension of Washington's masterly movement against Cornwallis. Racking his brains for a counter-movement of some kind, it seems quite probable that he decided upon this expedition against the almost defenseless towns of New London and Groton, as something which might divert Washington from his plans against Cornwallis, although even Clinton must have known that no such movement could possibly accomplish this result.. However this may be, it gave Arnold command of another marauding

expedition, which proved to be the last, and by far the most shameful and horrible, piece of dirty work which formed his sole occupation in the British service.

Even Tryon could hardly have undertaken a Connecticut raid which promised such results at so small an apparent risk. The garrison at Fort Trumbull on the New London side was a mere handful of men, and the fort was then only a small battery open in the rear. On the Groton side, Fort Griswold, though a much more extensive stronghold, and better adapted for defense, was occupied only by a few men. It was reported to Arnold, by "friends to the [British] government," that this fort was very incomplete, and that there were only twenty or thirty men in it. No attack of any consequence had been made on the coast of Connecticut for two years, and the frequent appearance of British war vessels sailing harmlessly past New London harbor during this time had given the people a sense of security, so that their vigilance had been relaxed. Rich stores from prize ships were in the warehouses near the water front, and on board vessels in the harbor; and the destruction of these, with other military stores, would give ready excuse for the plunder and destruction of private property, to which the "Yagers" who appeared among the forces were particularly prone.

By ten o'clock on the morning of September 6th the forces had landed from the fleet, in two divisions on opposite sides of the harbor. On the Groton side, at what is now called Eastern Point, eight hundred men under Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre were landed to proceed against Fort Griswold; and on the New London side about one thousand men to capture Fort Trumbull with its garrison of twenty-three, and then to proceed with the work of destruction which followed. New London proved an easy prey. The garrison of Fort Trum-

bull, under command of Captain Adam Shapley, fired one broadside at the invaders, spiked the guns of the fort, and retreated to the shore, where they embarked in small boats under a heavy fire to reinforce Fort Griswold. Seventeen men from this garrison of twenty-three reached Fort Griswold and did good service, being experienced artillerists. One boat containing six men from the Fort Trumbull garrison was captured by the British.

Arnold, with the main portion of the troops on the New London side, pursued his course over Town Hill and Manwaring's Hill, then unsettled portions of New London, to the thickly settled part of the town where the wharves and warehouses were located, with dwelling-houses near by. On this march he met with some opposition, which he magnifies in his report, from a little temporary earthwork, called by the townspeople Fort Nonsense on account of its insignificance. He was harassed on his march, too, by the militia and others, who to the number of about one hundred had gathered for such defense as could be made without organization. Gaining the more northern portion of the town, and joined by the four companies under Captain Millet, flushed with their victory at Fort Trumbull with its garrison of twenty-three men, Arnold proceeded at once to the destruction of stores, and of such vessels as could be safely reached. Fire was used as the most expeditious destructive, and soon sixty-five dwelling houses, thirty-one stores and warehouses, eighteen mechanics' shops, and nine public buildings were reduced to ashes. In his official report, Arnold explains the burning of dwelling-houses as unavoidable by reason of the explosion of a powder magazine in the town which scattered fire in all directions; but many of the burned dwellings and public buildings were far beyond the reach of this fire.

Noticing, meantime, that many vessels were escaping up the Thames river, Arnold had directed Colonel Eyre to lose no time in taking Fort Griswold, on the opposite side, and in turning its guns on the escaping fleet. In pursuance of these instructions, Eyre had immediately advanced towards the Groton fort, and had demanded its surrender. Arnold, from the commanding hill in New London where the old burial ground is located, saw with some concern that Fort Griswold appeared much more formidable than he had been led to suppose, and despatched a messenger across the harbor to countermand his orders for an attack. But it was too late. Eyre's second demand for a surrender of the fort, coupled with the threat that if he was obliged to storm the work martial law would be enforced, was met by Colonel Ledyard and his gallant little band of one hundred and fifty with the reply, "We shall not surrender, let the consequences be what they may," and the attack had begun when Arnold's messenger arrived. The British advanced in full force towards the eastern side of the fort, and were met by a volley of musketry from the men stationed on this side. Under Colonel Ledyard's order the artillery fire was reserved until the enemy approached within close range. At the word, a single eighteen pounder doubly charged with grape shot was brought to bear upon them, under the direction of Captain Elias H. Halsey, an experienced privateer gunner. The effect was deadly, cleaving a gap in the British ranks, leaving about twenty dead and wounded in its course. The advancing column wavered, but, spurred on by the officers, continued its advance, and deploying in two directions, one division towards the south and west under Eyre, and the other towards the north under Major Montgomery. At the southwest bastion they were met with a fierce and obstinate resist-

ance, Colonel Eyre being mortally wounded, and three officers of his regiment killed.

On the east, Major Montgomery with his men advanced in a solid column, gaining possession of a small redoubt which had been abandoned, and rushing forward to the main works, effected an entrance, his men climbing upon each other's shoulders over a strong barricade of pickets, many meeting their death in the attempt. The defense was obstinate; cold shot were hurled upon the assailants, and all that a few brave men could do to resist an overwhelming force was done. Major Montgomery fell, pierced by a spear, as he entered at the head of his men, who followed him in a force which soon overwhelmed the few defenders at this point. Meanwhile at the southwest bastion the fight still raged, the few men engaged here being apparently unaware that the fort had been entered upon the other side. It is said that the flag at this point had been shot away, and its disappearance was taken to be a token of surrender. Luke Perkins, however, is credited with immediately replacing the flag upon a pike pole. This incident appeared to encourage the assault at this point, as they supposed that the flag had been struck; and "rushing with redoubled impetuosity, carried the southwest bastion by storm," as we learn from the narrative of Stephen Hempstead, one of the few survivors of the garrison. Here Captain Adam Shapley, Captain Peter Richards, Lieutenant Richard Chapman, and several other officers were killed or mortally wounded, after manfully fighting in the breach.

Further resistance being hopeless, and with the enemy pouring in overwhelming numbers at two opposite sides of the fort, Colonel Ledyard ordered his men to throw down their arms and surrender. The order was obeyed, but the

slaughter continued. The enemy from the parapets and at the entrance continued firing upon the disarmed garrison, and rushing into the parade within the fort, continued their murderous work with the bayonet. While this was going on, Colonel Ledyard advanced towards the British officer in command who asked of him who commanded the fort. Ledyard's reply, as reported by Stephen Hempstead, who stood near him was, "I did, sir, but you do now." In saying this he presented his sword in token of surrender, upon which the officer grasped it, and plunged it through his heart. The name of the perpetrator of this dastardly deed is a matter of dispute, and fortunately for his memory will probably remain so. By some who were present, Major Bromfield, who succeeded to the command at Montgomery's death, is said to have been Ledyard's murderer; by others, Captain Beckwith is said to have been the guilty man. It is useless to discuss the various theories and conflicting evidence regarding this. The defenders of the fort who have made the only written statements in the mater could hardly be supposed to be competent to identify the man, and his comrades in arms very naturally preferred not only to conceal his name, but to sink the foul deed in oblivion if possible.

Colonel William Ledyard, the victim of this unknown murderer was a knightly soldier. He was the commander of Fort Griswold from the time of its completion in 1776, his command also covering New London and Stonington. He will always be remembered as the brave and inspiring leader of one of the most determined and heroic actions of the Revolution, leading, as he did, one hundred and fifty undisciplined, unorganized men to resist some eight hundred disciplined veterans of the British army.

The scenes which followed the death of Ledyard were such

as may have been expected from a horde of British soldiers under such an officer as the murderer of Ledyard. No quarter was given to the survivors. Wounded men were despatched by the bayonet, and of the unarmed survivors among the defenders, hardly a man escaped unhurt. The dead and wounded were plundered and even stripped of their scanty clothing. At last an officer more humane than the rest put a stop to the butchery and plunder, and the massacre was over. To add to the horrors of the day, a number of helpless wounded men, piled one upon another, were placed in a large ammunition wagon, for the purpose of removing them hastily from the fort where an attempt was made to blow up the magazine. The wagon with its tortured freight was drawn by about twenty soldiers; but on reaching the top of a steep hill near by, it appeared to be beyond their control, and after efforts to stop its descent, the soldiers abandoned it to its fate, thinking only of their own safety. Thus left, it dashed down the hill with fast increasing speed, until at last its course was arrested by coming in contact with a tree, killing some of the men already nearly dead from their wounds, throwing others to the ground, and by the shock adding excruciating pain to the hapless victims.

With the burning of nearly all the few dwellings and other buildings which formed the little village of Groton, the horrors of the day closed. The militia were now fast gathering from the adjoining and near-by towns, and at about sunset of this memorable sixth of September, 1781, the British hastily embarked on board their transports, to disappear with their commander Benedict Arnold from further active scenes in the Revolution.

It is impossible to justify—almost impossible to account for this barbarous massacre. It is doubtless true that the

survival of a mediæval custom still made it at this time a code of European warfare that no quarter should be given to the garrison of a conquered stronghold; but the code was always "honored in the breach" by the Americans, as in the case of Stony Point, and both European and American civilization were, or should have been, far beyond its observance. The fall of the flag at Fort Griswold seemed only, as we have seen, a signal for renewed attack. If there is a shadow of an excuse for the scenes which followed the taking of the fort, it lies in the fact that resistance was in progress at one part of the works after the other part had been carried.

Of the little band of about one hundred and fifty men who held Fort Griswold for nearly an hour against a force estimated at six times their number, eighty-seven were killed, forty wounded, and fifteen made prisoners, showing that only eight or ten escaped unhurt. The casualties of the British, as reported by Arnold himself, were forty-seven killed and one hundred and thirty-nine wounded. Later reports state that the expedition returned to New York with two hundred and twenty fewer sound men on its rolls than when it started. Thus it appears that this little band of defenders, nearly every one of whom was a Groton farmer, made havoc in the British ranks to an extent of at least about forty more than their own number.

That Arnold tried to conceal the true state of affairs from Clinton is evident from his report. We learn on the authority of eye witnesses that not above thirty were killed or wounded in the fort before it was taken. Arnold reports that "Eighty-five were found dead in Fort Griswold, and sixty wounded, most of them mortally."

And here, after conducting the most atrocious raid that the Connecticut coast suffered, within thirteen miles of his

birthplace, we leave Benedict Arnold, at the close of a career in the Revolution which opened most brilliantly and closed most shamefully.

CHAPTER X

The End of the War

FROM the foregoing outline of military and naval service rendered by Connecticut, it is readily to be inferred that the position of the Governor and Council, and of the other legislators of the day, was no sinecure. In providing for and regulating all this service both within and outside the borders of the State, many new problems and many emergencies presented themselves, which required prompt and decisive action. There is no doubt that the financier and political economist of to-day can find much in such action to criticize; but it must be remembered that the leisure which such theorists and doctrinaires are able to take in reaching their conclusions, was not granted to the men who were straining the resources of their State to provide both the literal and the figurative sinews of war. Had they and their compatriots taken time for reaching the conclusions of modern political scientists, the revolution would doubtless have come to an untimely end in its early stages.

Foremost among the problems with which they had to deal was the money question. We have seen how this question was met from April 1775 to June 1776 by the issue of £260,000 in bills of credit, the payment of which was provided by taxation, to meet the emergencies of the times. The financial situation soon became complicated by the increasing influx of continental money, which depreciated to such an extent towards the close of the war that five hundred dollars were needed to buy a dollar in specie. Early Connecticut legislation, as we have seen, made it a penal offence to fix higher prices for property sold and paid for in continental money than in "hard money." Notwithstanding this, the higher or more powerful law which governs values among men soon asserted itself, and prices of all commodities began

to advance as early as in November 1776, when we find the legislators of the day establishing by enactment prices above which certain goods could not be sold. There is no doubt that speculation soon grew rife in these times, and that unscrupulous and unpatriotic men took every possible advantage of the situation. Within a month from this first attempt to regulate prices by law, a second attempt was made, which went so far towards acknowledging the inevitable as to allow higher maximum prices. This policy was temporarily abandoned in August 1777; and in the following October, purchases beyond small quantities for daily needs could only be legally made by those who took the oath of fidelity to the United States. Patriotism by enactment having failed to bring about the expected result, regulation of prices was again undertaken in February 1778, with greater stringency and comprehensiveness than before, the additional safeguards being that no person could commence a suit in any court without first swearing that he had violated none of the provisions of the law regulating prices; and that any person who violated this law should be forever disqualified from holding public office in the State. This law remained nominally in force until January 1780, by which time it may be surmised that it had become a dead letter.

The Continental Congress, too, was equally fertile in devices, which it could only recommend to the States, for removing the symptoms rather than the causes of an inflated currency. Another expedient which Congress adopted at this time was the establishment of loan offices in the various States, for borrowing money for the common cause, first at four per cent., and when this was found insufficient, at six per cent. interest. A loan office for this purpose was established with the State Treasurer, in December 1776, and some

money was raised through the means. But the amount so raised did not meet the expectations or needs of Congress, and in the year 1778 it was found necessary to tax the several States to the extent of $5,000,000, of which the proportion assigned to Connecticut was $600,000, which although far beyond her just proportion, Connecticut promptly assumed, and promptly provided for, as usual, by laying taxes at the rate of two shillings to the pound in this instance. This simple expedient of taxing the States, after the failure or partial failure of loan offices and lottery schemes, was resorted to by Congress to the extent of $15,000,000 for the following year, and $6,000,000 annually for eighteen years thereafter; but this expedient yielded no better results than the loan offices and lotteries, and the issue of Continental bills continued.

The issue of £260,000 in bills of credit, which was completed in June 1776, was the last issue of paper money by Connecticut, with the exception of a small amount of fractional currency, until 1780. The old issue was called in as fast and as far as possible, beginning in February 1778, for the sake of leaving a clear field for Continental bills as a legal tender, though it was at last rather equivocally enacted that they should be a legal tender "according to their current value," and that creditors in other States whose laws were not similar should not be entitled to the benefits of this law. Upon the recommendation of Congress to all the States, this law was repealed in Connecticut in 1781.

The issue of State bills of credit in 1780 amounted to £190,000, and was made in lieu of the new Continental bills to which the State was entitled under the act of Congress, but of which privilege, if it could be so called, Connecticut never availed.

These leading facts regarding the finances of the period are taken from a carefully prepared treatise by Dr. Henry Bronson, on "Connecticut Currency, Continental Money, and the Finances of the Revolution," which may be found in vol. 1 of the Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society.

The financial record of Connecticut throughout the war stands on the whole, as a pleasing contrast to the record of the other New England States, when measured by its results after the war, and in the disastrous times which then ensued. The delusive issues of paper money in all the other States, excepting only Delaware, brought about the usual result. Connecticut, practically free from paper obligations, though suffering the results of heavy expenditures which she had met by heavy taxes, came out of the struggle much better prepared to avail of the coming times of peace and prosperity than her neighbors.

In the final adjustment of the accounts of the several States under Hamilton's plan, in 1790, the amount found to be due to Connecticut was: For apportionment of State indebtedness $1,600,000. For other amounts due from the United States, $619,121.

These amounts were liquidated by the issue of United States stocks, which though largely reduced by compromise in the final settlement, probably brought to the State a larger amount of "hard money" in the end than the figures of the indebtedness of the United States actually represented, as these figures represented inflated Continental money values.

Of the number of men furnished by Connecticut during the Revolution, there are varying estimates, the most reliable being those of the compilers of the official records; Dr. Henry P. Johnston, who prepared the valuable publication, "Con-

necticut Men in the Revolution," and Mr. Albert C. Bates, who compiled Volume 8 of the Collections of the Connecticut Historical Society, giving additional muster-rolls and records. Dr. Johnston's estimate of the number of men in his compilation, is thirty thousand; and Mr. Bates' estimate of the number in his compilation, not included in the other, is about eight thousand. To this total of thirty-eight thousand should be added the number in scattered muster-rolls and records which are in the hands of individuals, and are coming to light from time to time; so that it is safe to call the number of men furnished by this little State in the Revolution not far from forty thousand.

An important service rendered by Connecticut was the custody and care of prisoners of war. Owing to the almost uniform loyalty of the people to the common cause, this appeared from the first to be the safest State for the confinement of suspected traitors, Tories, and prisoners captured in battle. One of the first, if not the first of the political prisoners of the war was Dr. Benjamin Church, who in November 1775 was detected in secret correspondence with the enemy. The vigorous and prompt measures of Israel Putnam at the time resulted in the detection of a bearer of this secret correspondence. Putnam is said to have appeared on horseback, with a rather bulky woman riding on the same horse, at Washington's headquarters, where he firmly and unceremoniously ushered the woman into the presence of the Commander-in-chief, under whose searching inquiries and commanding presence she disclosed the fact of Dr. Church's secret correspondence, and her share in its delivery. Church was arrested and sent at once to the care of Governor Trumbull, under whose direction he was confined in jail at Norwich. His doings had been so guarded that it was impossible

to establish legal proof of his treason, and he was at last allowed to take a voyage to the West Indies for the benefit of his health. He must have been lost at sea, as neither he nor the vessel on which he sailed were ever heard of again.

Another distinguished political prisoner, who was for several years under the care of Connecticut, was Governor William Franklin of New Jersey. Unlike his patriotic sire, the illustrious Benjamin Franklin, he is described in the journal of the Council of Safety as "a virulent enemy to this country." He arrived at Lebanon, under guard, on the memorable 4th of July, 1776, having been consigned by the authorities of New Jersey to the care of Governor Trumbull, with the request that he be paroled as a prisoner. He was accordingly kept on parole in various Connecticut towns until the 30th of April 1777, at which time it had been made known to Congress that he had been disseminating peace proclamations and similar literature; whereupon it was ordered that he be placed in close confinement, without access to writing materials. He was accordingly placed in Litchfield jail. He was released as an exchanged prisoner in November 1778, after an experience of more than two years under the watchful care of Connecticut.

These more important instances give some idea of the trust that was reposed in this State in such cases. Not only were the first political prisoners of the Revolution entrusted to her care, but the first military prisoners as well. The garrison of Ticonderoga were paroled at Hartford, where, as it appears from the diary of Major French, one of the officers of this garrison, they did not assimilate well with the patriots of that town. And throughout the State, during the entire war, an important duty of the Council of Safety and the General Assembly was to provide for prisoners of war.

Memorable among the places of confinement for prisoners is the Newgate prison—so called—at Simsbury. This was an abandoned copper mine purchased by the State, and used as a prison before the Revolution. The subterranean cells of this place have been so treated by romancers and others that they bear an unsavory reputation in these days of enlightenment and prison reform. The place, however, accorded with the notions of penal confinement at the time. Notwithstanding its alleged unsanitary condition, we have yet to learn of a case where a prisoner suffered materially from this cause; and notwithstanding its supposed security, escapes were frequent. In one instance, on the 18th of May, 1781, all the prisoners, most of whom were Tories, to the number of thirty, escaped, having disarmed the guards, who were asleep, and having placed most of them in the prison, after a sharp contest in which one of the guards was killed and six were wounded. Many of the prisoners, too, were wounded, in some instances by their comrades who could not distinguish them from the guards in the darkness.

It was not until 1827 that the Simsbury copper mine was abandoned as a State prison, and the Wethersfield prison was substituted.

Although Connecticut was known as the Provision State, the draft upon her food supplies was sometimes so great as to cause distress within her borders. On the 2d of February, 1779, we find President Ezra Stiles of Yale College writing to Governor Trumbull that "the Steward of the College has been every way disappointed with respect to flour, so that it has become impossible for us to receive the students," and requesting that fifty or sixty barrels of flour be allotted to the College from the commissary department. On the 6th of April, 1779, Commissary-General Jeremiah Wadsworth

writes to Governor Trumbull that breadstuffs for the troops cannot be found, and that he fears that the Continentals then at New London were without bread. He shows the cost of three tons of flour seized under the law at Suffield to be £1,412, and very properly adds: "If it were possible to obtain bread for the army by the present law, the expense is so great that the Treasury of the United States is not sufficient to pay for it."

Not only in food supplies, but in munitions of war, Connecticut won her title of the Provision State. The iron furnace at Salisbury was continued under the management of the General Assembly and Council of Safety during the war, after its capabilities and resources were fully appreciated. The cannons and balls from this furnace performed an important service in the Burgoyne campaign, and on the war-vessels, besides furnishing the armaments of forts and artillery companies. Many an iron kettle from the same furnace performed less conspicuous but no less important service. The lead mine at Middletown, too, did its share in furnishing bullets.

It is impossible and unnecessary to describe in fuller detail the share of Connecticut in the Revolution. That share, as we have seen, was always ungrudgingly and promptly performed. Realizing that she was in her own right a free-born republic, she merged the rights of her political position in the common cause, and freely devoted to that cause all the advantages and facilities which her unique position gave her. As she, first of all the States, instructed her delegates to vote for independence, so when the question of adopting articles of confederation arose, she furthered that project in every possible way.

In the diary of Governor Trumbull, a man too busy to keep an elaborate journal, the following entry may be read:

"Friday, October 26th [1781]. About 7 o'clo. in the eveg recd the hand Bill from D. Govr Bower, of the surrender of Ld Cornwallis & his Army—9000 men, seamen included—quantity of Warlike Stores—one 40 gun ship— 1 frigate—about one hundred Transports. Praised be the Lord of Hosts!"

Although the fighting practically ended with the surrender of Cornwallis, none the less did Connecticut, for a year and more after that event, keep up her quota of troops, make her contributions in money, and give every other evidence of her belief in the maxim, "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty."

When at last, in 1783, peace was declared, Governor Trumbull, who had reached the age of seventy-three,—conscious, apparently for the first time, that the infirmities of age had taken hold upon him,—declined a re-election, and retired, after fifty-one years of arduous public service, to the well-earned rest which he enjoyed for the less than two remaining years of his life. At the election which took place in May, 1784, Matthew Griswold was elected to the office of Governor. During the fifteen years of Trumbull's administration he had held the office of Lieutenant-Governor; and from his familiarity with public affairs and his unflinching patriotism, was well fitted to conduct the affairs of his native State in the new era now opening before her.

J. T.

CHAPTER XI

Sketches of Military Characters of the Revolution

THE actions of Connecticut in the Revolution were not those of an abstract entity, but of warmly living human personalities; some note of their lives is therefore an important part of the contemporary history. The chief names on the roll are still vividly familiar, from their picturesque individuality as well as their accomplishments; and curiously, the one regarded with least pride achieved the most important and decisive results of all.

First in permanent esteem stands Israel Putnam, the "old Put" of affectionate admiration in his time; the Blucher of Connecticut, a born military leader of rough and racy personality, unpretending and jovial but heavy of hand, full of resource and ignorant of fear. Not of Connecticut birth, he was identified with us from his majority. Born in Salem (now Danvers), Massachusetts, Jan. 7, 1718, he removed to a farm in (now) Pomfret at twenty-one; and lived for sixteen years as an ordinary farmer, but known far around for the daring with which he followed a formidable wolf to its lair in a rocky cave and slew it. In the French and Indian War he was captain of a company under the much underrated Phineas Lyman; was in the battle of Lake George, which won William Johnson his knighthood for defeating Dieskau, and Lyman nothing; and was famed as a leader of rangers for two years after, finding those opportunities for adventurous exploit which always come to the man who wishes them. He saved a boat-load of soldiers from the Indians by steering them down the furious Hudson rapids—which suggests Horseneck; he risked his life in the flames of Fort Edward to save it from destruction; captured by the Indians and tied to a tree to be burned alive, he was actually scorched by the fires when a French officer rescued him. Command-

ing a regiment under Amherst, a bold and skilful exploit of his threw two armed vessels and an important fort into Amherst's hands. Again under Lyman in the West Indies, he aided in capturing Havana from the Spaniards; in Pontiac's War he went with Bradstreet (1764) to relieve Detroit; and after nine years of richly varied and brilliant military experience, came back as Colonel Putnam, a veteran officer fit to match any in the English army. The absurdity still lingers in some minds of styling the colonial soldiery of the Revolution an "untrained militia": some of them were. Then for another decade he was farmer, innkeeper, traveler, and vigorous patriot, prominent among the "Sons of Liberty" in the Stamp Act times and the thickening storms that followed. In 1774 he aids in slipping provisions into Boston under Gage's not very acute eyes. When the news of Lexington is brought to him, while plowing in the field, he leaves the plow in the furrow like the Highlanders at the sending of the fiery cross, and without putting on his uniform, mounts his best horse and gallops to Cambridge. At Bunker Hill he holds a leading command: his order to his men, "Don't fire till you see the whites of their eyes," is classic. When Washington assumed command of the army, Putnam was made one of his first four major-generals, and commanded his right wing. Later, in command at Brooklyn Heights, he shared in the inevitable American defeat at the battle of Long Island; but Colonel Knowlton's force which did itself honor at Harlem Heights was of his command. He is commandant at Philadelphia after Lee's treachery and treason; then at Peekskill, holding the Hudson highlands against the British. It is there that he captures a British spy, and in answer to a letter from Clinton threatening vengeance if the spy is harmed, replies that the prisoner was "taken as a spy, tried as

a spy, condemned as a spy, and shall be executed as a spy," with a "P. S. He has been executed." Then he assists in recruiting. Later he holds western Connecticut against British raids; and while fighting Tryon, saves his command by lingering too long near the enemy himself, then escapes capture by riding down an almost impossible bluff at Horseneck with the bullets flying after him. Stricken with paralysis in 1779, he passed his remaining years on the farm, and died May 19, 1790, secure of the fame for which he had taken no thought, and the good repute for which he had—each being the best way to secure its special prize.

Next to Putnam must be placed a nature built on broader lines of intellect and more vehement elemental force, and like him with no spark of meanness; but engulfed in ruin from lack of his unselfish and single-minded devotion to duty, his likable character and unspeculative common-sense. Benedict Arnold was all Connecticut's own, but his worse side had nothing typical of her; and the mantle of sorrow and pity we cast over him is not one of shame,—a feeling lost in the spectacle of the tremendous retribution which fell on him, and the temptation which was not wholly nor perhaps mainly one of selfishness, but a specious appeal to the very patriotism he seemed to forget. The boy prefigured the man: noted for athletic prowess, reckless daring, and resource; almost certainly displaying the proud, passionate, uncontrolled, and rather self-seeking nature, quickly responding to affection or resentment, generous to the weak but not conciliatory to companions, which brought on the final tragedy. Arnold was a good man to have for a master, and a magnificently useful one to have for a subordinate; but he was not a comfortable yokemate, and it is hard to believe that the train of hates and resentments which followed him were wholly without his

fault. Yet again and again he acted with exemplary patience and the utmost magnanimity. Born in Norwich, Jan. 14, 1741, and becoming a prosperous New Haven druggist and bookseller, he turned West India trader, traveled thither, fought a victorious duel with and wrested an apology from an insolent English captain. At news of Lexington, recruiting a company in hot haste he obtains a Massachusetts commission to capture Ticonderoga; finds Ethan Allen and the men of Connecticut beforehand with him, and as they pay no attention to his commission and claim of command, accompanies them as a volunteer, and shares in the bloodless capture. Joined a few days later by his own band, he sails down Champlain and takes St. John's; asks for the command of the captured forts and is refused it. Then he proposes to Washington the expedition to Quebec, across the great watershed between the northern affluents of the Kennebec and the early waters of the Chaudière; and after a fearful march through sleet storms, frozen lakes, rapids, and forests, deserted by part of his force under an officer who furnishes excellent excuses, his matchless energy and resolution bring the bulk of the forces to the city in November. He scales the heights, and dares the garrison of thrice his numbers to come out and fight; joined by Montgomery, he attempts an assault in which Montgomery is killed and his own leg shattered, but he keeps the place blockaded till he is relieved in spring. When the British undertake an invasion of New York by the path of Lake Champlain, Arnold spends the summer building a fleet to bar their way, and on Oct. 11, 1776, fights one of the most heroic and obstinate naval battles in our history, off Plattsburg; hopelessly outnumbered, he finally brings off all his men and most of his boats, the nominally victorious British retire to Montreal, and the

From an etching by H. B. Hall.

Americans are enabled to send Washington the 3,000 men with which he fights the battles of Trenton and Princeton.

Meantime an adhesive-fingered subordinate of Allen's revenges himself for Arnold's hindering his promotion as a looter of baggage, by bringing countercharges of malfeasance against him, which are thrown out by the Board of War. Then Congress, on the same principle which to-day operates in dividing patronage, appoints five new major-generals all of whom together are not worth Arnold's little finger, and pass over him, the senior brigadier, because Connecticut has her share of major-generals already. Arnold behaves with excellent temper; asks only to be made ranking officer as before, offers for the present to serve under his juniors, and in Tryon's invasion of Connecticut does such deeds that Congress for shame makes him major-general, but still refuses to restore his rank. Meantime his business is going to ruin; he has used and pledged his own means without stint, in Canada and since, to keep the expeditions from entire collapse for lack of supplies which could not be got from Congress, and asks to have the latter settle his claims; Congress is suspicious and hangs off, Arnold goes to Philadelphia to urge action and restoration of his rank, and finally in despair and disgust asks permission to resign. Just then Burgoyne's invasion looms up; Washington needs Arnold above all other men, and urges Congress to send him against Burgoyne. Arnold forgets resentment at once, hastens north, and by stratagem first and heroism afterwards saves the independence of the country. St. Leger's supporting expedition is scattered in panic by a decoy, and butchered by its Indian allies; then he defeats Burgoyne's flank movement at Freeman's Farm; and in the final battle on the Hudson called "Saratoga," takes command without official position and

crushes Burgoyne's army, his leg again shattered in the fight. This victory secures for the United States the alliance of France, and by consequence the surrender of Cornwallis. Finally in 1778 Congress restores to the country's savior his military rank.

Then he is given command at Philadelphia, and marries a girl of loyalist family. Thrown into this society, its arguments gradually become irresistible even on patriotic grounds. The cause is so nearly lost that even Washington despairs; the proposals of the English government are so alluring and guaranteed that many excellent patriots think it simply wicked to prolong this bloodshed and wretchedness, when all that the war has been fought for is to be had without it. Congress is so imbecile and factious that many think the country's future under independence promises worse than it could be under English rule. The unpaid and unclothed soldiers are deserting in squads. The influential officers are beset with British tempters, offering not coarse bribes, but influential positions in the new and autonomous colonial government which is to replace the worthless simulacrum at Philadelphia. As fate will have it, the plea falls in a time when his personal grievances make him think the government which inflicts them unfit to exist. Harassed by debts brought on by the desire to make a large social figure in the eyes of Philadelphians, and at feud with the Pennsylvania magistrates (the responsibility cannot be apportioned now, and perhaps could not be then), he wishes to resign his commission and pass his remaining days as a country gentleman; but in an evil hour the Pennsylvania magnates bring a list of charges against him, of which we can say positively that all which were not false were frivolous. A committee of Congress finds them so and recommends unqualified acquittal, and

again he purposes to retire; but the officials are full of hatred, will not let him go without some punishment or disgrace, declare that they have more evidence, and insist on a fresh trial. Congress appoints another committee; but Congress is located in Pennsylvania's capital, and dependent on Pennsylvania's good-will almost for the means of existing as a Congress, and the committee dare not affront them—it refers the matter to a court-martial. Arnold welcomes it and urges a speedy trial; the magnates, under pretext of gathering fresh evidence, put it off month after month. Finally the court-martial meets and coincides with the Congressional verdict; but as the frivolous charges were technical violations of rule, orders Washington to reprimand him. Washington does so in terms that turn it from a disgrace into a panegyric, and offers Arnold the highest position in the army next to himself. But wrath and contempt turn the scale in his mind, already half gained as others were wholly gained by the British arguments and promises. He will play the part of the general who ended the Cromwellian régime and restored to Englishmen their longed-for government; he will crush the rebellion by one dramatic blow, and after the first feeling has passed, be thanked by his countrymen for giving them prosperity and true liberty. He stoops to the basest treason, if not to the country he did not regard as a country, then to honor and every-day good faith and loyalty to a comrade and superior; he asks to command the chief fortress of the cause, that he may surrender it to the British. How he is foiled and the life of an accomplice is forfeited, we need not detail; nor the awful plunge in his own consciousness, from the military dictator conferring a prosperous future on his countrymen, to a common hired traitor despised by the lowest in the land; nor the despite in which he was held by his English fellow

officers who would not serve with him,—more for his being a provincial and American than for his being a traitor,—and how it gradually wore out even his powerful frame and broke his heart; and how, shortly before his death on June 14, 1801, he put on his old uniform and asked God to forgive him that ever he had worn another. It is a story for tears, not stoning.

Ethan Allen—born in Litchfield, Jan. 10, 1737—is a less figure, but with that most surely and intimately living of memories, one intertwined with the associations of romance. The "Green Mountain Boys," to the children of two or three generations ago, were part of fairyland in charm, with the advantage of being on solid earth; they should be so still, to all children properly reared and instructed. The great leaders of these—Ethan Allen, Seth Warner, and Remember Baker—were Connecticut men; pioneers of that overflow of overcrowded Connecticut which built up Vermont, and would have created a State in Wyoming (dealt with in a former chapter) but for the most frightful of Indian massacres. New Hampshire had been given a stretch of territory westward to Lake Champlain, and granted lands to settlers who wished them; then the Duke of York was granted the lands eastward to the Connecticut River, so that Vermont was common to both. Before the dispute was settled in favor of New York, New Hampshire had granted out 128 townships; in violation of the terms of the New York grant, that it was not to interfere with prior settlers, the latter colony proceeded to grant out the lands to new ones; but when the New York surveyors came to plot the grants, the occupants cut green rods and beat them out of the country with smarting backs. The surveyors and grantees came back with deputy sheriffs in their train; the settlers raised armed companies and again

applied the "beech seal" to claimants, sheriffs, surveyors, and all. Allen, an athletic and adventurous giant, was in his element; he took part in this warfare with a will, and at once became a leader. The settlers make him agent to plead their rights at Albany; the case goes against them and a fresh attempt is made to eject them by force; they raise a regiment of "Green Mountain Boys" and make Allen colonel. Tryon of New York proclaims him an outlaw and offers £150 for his capture: the position is hard to find where Tryon cannot establish a worse record for vanity, violence, and unreasonableness, not tainted by conspicuous ability or success, than any of his fellows. The Green Mountain Boys protect their own; and Allen uses his pen in vindication of their rights. At the outbreak of the Revolution he collects a force of Green Mountain Boys and makes a bloodless capture of Ticonderoga: what he said on that memorable occasion was perhaps even more picturesque than what he is reported to have said, but less decorous. They capture other posts which give them a mass of stores and the command of Lake Champlain; Congress grants them the pay of Continentals, and recommends the New York Assembly to wipe out old scores and employ them in the army under their own officers. Allen and Warner go to Albany: a few members of the Assembly wish them excluded from the session as proclaimed felons, the great majority vote to admit them, and later vote to raise a regiment of Green Mountain Boys. Allen suggests an invasion of Canada, which is rejected; finally he undertakes one himself with another officer, who helps him capture a fort, but leaves him in the lurch in an attack on Montreal, and Allen is taken prisoner and sent to England. With their customary kindness to American prisoners, they put him in chains, and a dastardly English officer, beaten in argument, strikes the

chained prisoner in the mouth. Finally exchanged and sent home, he is made commander of the Vermont militia, and lieutenant-colonel in the regular army. But New York still refuses to give up her claim, and the British have hopes to use the Vermont fears (Vermonters never had fears) to induce the Green Mountain Boys to annex themselves to Canada as a protection against New York: Allen pretends to listen to the arguments and offers, and thus keeps British military action out of his region till the war is ended. After the war he was in Congress, working vigorously to secure Vermont's admission as a State; but New York did not unclench her fingers till after his death, on Feb. 13, 1789. He deserves his memory, and long may we keep undimmed the richness of such romance as our history affords: romance is the nursery of patriotism.

Allen's companions are eclipsed by the greater individuality of his name; but they deserve remembrance, not alone as Connecticut representatives, but for their native qualities. Seth Warner was a chevalier: more than a six footer, like Allen, gallant, frank, and of noble bearing, a mighty hunter and a practical man of affairs, a man to be followed and loved. Born in Roxbury (Connecticut), May 17, 1743, at twenty he removes to Bennington with his father; with Allen he is outlawed by New York, or rather by its fire-eating governor; he is second in command at Ticonderoga, and captures Crown Point with its garrison and 113 cannon, an exploit which earns him a colonel's commission from Congress, against which the New York legislature repeatedly protests. He follows Montgomery to Canada; defeats Sir Guy Carleton at St. John's, New Brunswick; after Montgomery's death raises a body of troops and makes an attempt on Quebec. He commands the rear-guard in the retreat from

Ticonderoga during Burgoyne's invasion; at Bennington with his command he comes up and nearly destroys Breymann's reinforcing battalion. His health worn out in Revolutionary service, he returns with his family to his birthplace and shortly after dies there, Dec. 26, 1784, at only forty-one. Baker died a violent death still earlier and younger. Born in Woodbury about 1740, and while still a boy taking part in the French and Indian War,—notably in the bloody assault on Ticonderoga in 1758,—he removed in 1764 to the New Hampshire Grants, and shared in the work and the usefulness of Allen and Warner; he too was outlawed, and was actually captured, and though rescued the same day, had been brutally maimed. He shared in the capture of Ticonderoga with Allen, and in that of Crown Point with Warner; but in August of that year (1775), while scouting on Richelieu River, the outlet of Lake Champlain, he was met by Indians and murdered. At Ticonderoga too was Col. James Easton, of Hartford birth, then a builder at Litchfield, then in 1763 removing to Pittsfield, Mass. He was leader of the minutemen there, raised a Berkshire regiment at the outbreak of the war, took part at Ticonderoga, and was the first to acquaint the Provincial Congress with the news; urged the invasion of Canada, and commanded a regiment under Montgomery. He gained Arnold's ill-will, and had to retire from the army, dying poor on account of his sacrifices for the country.

Two brilliant careers were cut short within a single week in Thomas Knowlton and Nathan Hale, both in the same corps. Knowlton, like Putnam, was not of Connecticut birth, but was reared there, won it honor, and deserves its remembrance. From West Oxford, Massachusetts, where he was born Nov. 30, 1740, his father took him to Ashford in

early boyhood. Like Baker, of about the same age, he took part in the French and Indian War when but half grown, and served in it during six campaigns; crowning the service in 1762 by a share in the capture of Havana, whence so many New England citizens did *not* return. Then, like Putnam, he became a farmer again in Ashford, till the Revolution broke out. Made captain of the company of Ashford militia after Lexington, it was he with his company and 200 other Connecticut men who held the rail fence at Bunker Hill. He became a major; early in 1776 he raided Charlestown. At New York in that year he commanded the advance guard of the army, a regiment of light infantry; then was appointed lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of Connecticut rangers called "Congress' Own." At Bloomingdale, N. Y., on the morning of the battle of Harlem Heights, Sept. 16, 1776, he was killed while leading on his men against a body of Hessians and Highlanders; and Washington said of him in his General Orders that he would have been an honor to any country.

Most emphatically is this true concerning Nathan Hale. He died too young, and had had too little opportunity to play a conspicuous part, for certainty of prophecy: yet enough is certain to make us assured that no commonplace life was cut short when the Martyr Spy regretted that he had but one to lose for his country, and gladly resigned that one in its service; that he was no mere food for powder, more useful in death than he could have been in life; that his memory is justly honored, not alone because he gave to his country all he had, but because that all was the promise of fame, power, and usefulness beyond the common. He had the blood of a family of genius, of which the most famous are his grandnephew the creator of the Man Without a Country, and his grandniece the creatrix of the Peterkins, but which has shown

much other intellectual gift; and there is good reason to think that in a different line he would have previously made it illustrious. With a tall, stalwart, and athletic frame, a robust, manly, lovable and beloved personality, a strong mind, a lofty spirit, and a generous and chivalric nature, he lacked nothing to fit him for and almost guarantee him a distinguished career. Born in Coventry, June 6, 1755, he preluded with a feeble childhood a youth of such bodily strength that a Coventry tradition credits him with being able to sit in a barrel and lift himself out with his hands. A Yale graduate of 1773, a thorough Latin scholar and superior debater, he became a teacher in New London; Lexington starts the village into a blaze, and Hale urges immediate arming for independence, volunteers, is made a lieutenant, takes part in the siege of Boston, and becomes a captain; goes to New York, and in September 1776 with a few companions captures at midnight a supply transport under the guns of a British man-of-war; then commands a company in Knowlton's Connecticut Rangers. Washington calls for some volunteer to risk his life by passing within the British lines as a spy, and bringing back intelligence of their fortifications and positions. Hale offers himself, is dissuaded because his life is too valuable so to risk, insists, and goes as a loyalist schoolmaster, making drawings without secrecy; is captured while returning, condemned on the evidence of the plans secreted in his shoes, turned over to the provost, and condemned to be hanged the next morning at sunrise. Thus far, it was only the "fate of war"; but the brutal ruffian (Cunningham) chosen by the British for that post makes death bitterer by every indignity—a striking contrast to the generous brotherliness extended to André by the Americans. A Bible and a chaplain are refused him; his letters to his sisters and his

betrothed wife are torn up before his eyes; and when he attempts to speak from the scaffold, the drums are beaten to drown his voice. It has not been drowned for posterity: the monument in his native town preserves his dying utterance, not nobler than the nature which prompted it; and one of the finest of American lyrics is devoted to his martyr death.

Samuel Holden Parsons is a historical problem, absolutely insoluble except on inferential grounds; but the very absoluteness of the contradiction between the facts of his life and the record of his seeming treason lead us irresistibly to the almost certain truth. Had he been really a traitor, he would be as far below Arnold as Arnold is below Washington: without a particle of temptation, a possibility of self-deception, or even the excuse of despairing of his country; a venal scoundrel selling that country in cold blood almost at the moment of its triumph, and he a long-time public representative and leading military officer, utterly trusted in the highest positions by his State and his commander. There is nothing remotely parallel to it in American history, or indeed any other history; human nature is not capable of such vileness; any other explanation is more credible. Let us glance at his career and his action. Born at Lyme, May 14, 1737, nephew of Matthew Griswold, he graduates at Yale, becomes a lawyer, and for many years represents his native town in the Assembly; settles Connecticut's boundary conflict with Pennsylvania; and in 1773 is one of the standing committee of inquiry, the precursor of the Continental Congress. Removing to New London in 1774, he is appointed King's attorney. He plans the capture of Ticonderoga, and its prisoners are sent to Connecticut in recognition of this; is colonel of the Sixth at Roxbury near Boston, then sent to New York; serves at the battle of Long Island in August, is made brigadier-

general, takes part at Harlem Heights and White Plains, is assigned to protect the line of the Hudson, then is with Washington in New Jersey. In 1778-9 he is again on the highlands of the Hudson, and given charge of constructing the works at West Point. He harasses the British at Norwalk; is one of the board which tries André; in 1780 he is made major-general, and succeeds Putnam in command of the Connecticut line. He had received steady promotion; he had no grievance against Congress, no quarrel over being unrecognized, none of the bitter injustices that drove general after general out of the service. He did not show himself aflame with avarice or pushing ambition, to sell himself for money or place. And at what time do we find him writing letters to a confederate in the State Assembly to be shown to the British? Was it at the time when Arnold betrayed his trust, when success not only seemed hopeless, but even if won, the inauguration of worse evils even than failure could bring? No: it was in July 1781, three months before Yorktown; long after King's Mountain and Cowpens, after Greene's campaigns had ruined Cornwallis' position and loosed his hold on the Carolinas, when hope was vivid and the French fleet in active co-operation. And what is the nature of his communications to the British? Vague, stale, worthless "news" which they knew already as well as he, which professed to keep them in touch with important facts and told them not a jot. What is the conclusion from all this? Simply that Parsons was playing the part which Harvey Birch plays in Cooper's "Spy," of an ostensible spy for the enemy in order to be an actual one for his country; a part taken by more than one Harvey Birch in real life; essentially the part which Ethan Allen played, and which was known to Washington, who received the information obtained by these double spies.

Probably the Connecticut magistrates were in the secret also. Had the treason been actual, it must have been blown on the wind which always exposes such secrets, or at least made Parsons suspected; whereas he remained trusted to the uttermost by those around and above him. After the Revolution he became a lawyer in Middletown, member of the convention of 1787 which framed the Constitution, first judge of the Northwest Territory, and in 1789 removed to Marietta, Ohio; was a commissioner to settle a treaty for Connecticut with the Indians, to quiet their title; and was drowned in the Big Beaver, on a journey connected with this, Nov. 17, 1789.

Eastern Connecticut was prolific in Continental officers. Two Norwich Huntingtons deserve mention. Jedediah was born Aug. 4, 1743; he became a West India trader with his father Jabez, and in the times before the Revolution was an active Son of Liberty, and on the committees of correspondence. At once after Lexington he joined the army at Cambridge; in 1777 was made brigadier-general; was on Charles Lee's court-martial and the court which examined André; was brevetted major-general; and after the war was a delegate to the Constitutional Convention and for twenty-six years collector of customs at New London, dying Sept. 25, 1818. He aided in drafting the constitution of the Society of the Cincinnati. Ebenezer, born Dec. 26, 1754, left his studies in Yale at the opening of the Revolution, but was granted his diploma; became lieutenant, captain, brigade major, deputy adjutant-general; and had command of a battalion at Yorktown. He was reputed one of the best disciplinarians in the army. Later, he long commanded the Connecticut militia; was repeatedly a member of the Assembly, and twice a member of Congress; and died in his native town, June 17, 1834.

David Wooster closed a long and distinguished career as a professional soldier—so far as colonial life permitted it—with a hero's death. Born in Stratford, March 2, 1710, and graduating from Yale in 1738, the next year he engaged in the Spanish "War of Jenkins' Ear," which left so many of the flower of New England's manhood in the plague-stricken marshes of Cuba; at first lieutenant, then captain of a naval vessel for the colony's defense. In 1745 he took part in the Louisbourg expedition under Pepperrell; in the French and Indian War beginning 1755 he was first colonel of the Connecticut Third, then brigadier-general, and served till the peace in 1763. The Ticonderoga expedition owed much to him; he was a member of the Assembly; and was made third of the original eight brigadier-generals in the Continental Army. He took part in the Canadian expedition, and was commander-in-chief there after Montgomery's death; resigning and returning to Connecticut, he was appointed major-general of the State militia. We find him in command at Danbury when Tryon attacks and burns it; assailing the rear of the retreating British, and heartening his men to disregard the random shots of the foe, he is pierced by a musket ball, and dies a few days after, May 2, 1777.

The name of Return Jonathan Meigs has a halo of tender and smiling poetry around it, from the pretty incident to which he owed his mother and his appellation. His father courts a fair Quakeress, who is sure of her conquest and perhaps not sure of her heart; she respects him greatly but cannot marry him—a remark not then heard for the first or the last time. Coming again and again, he finally tells her it is for the last asking, receives the same reply, and mounts his horse—perhaps not with too much alacrity—to depart. Then the girl knows that her happiness is going with him; standing

in the doorway, she calls to him, "Return, Jonathan!" That he did return, the existence of our hero would sufficiently avouch; more than this, he gave their boy—born at Middletown, Dec. 17, 1734—these, "the sweetest words he had ever heard," for a name, and it was perpetuated through several generations. In middle age the son is thrilled by the news of Lexington, and heads a body of volunteers for a march to Cambridge; accompanies Arnold to Quebec as major; is captured and exchanged, and raises a regiment and becomes its colonel in 1777. By a brilliant attack on Sag Harbor with 170 men, he captures ninety prisoners and destroys twelve vessels and a store of forage without loss to his command; at the storming of Stony Point he commands a regiment under Wayne. Serving through the war, he afterwards became one of the earliest settlers in Ohio, at Marietta; was identified with the Western frontier, and from his thorough knowledge of the Indians and the trust they reposed in him, was appointed government Indian Agent in 1801, resident among the Cherokees in Georgia; spent the rest of his life at the agency, and there more than twenty years later he died, Jan. 28, 1823, at the age of eighty-eight.

Among the colonels of the Connecticut Line was Erastus Wolcott, born in East Windsor, Sept. 21, 1722; son of Judge and Governor Roger Wolcott, to whom we owe half our knowledge and more than half our puzzle on the hiding of the Charter. He was born to public office, from his heredity and capacity; lawyer, repeatedly member and Speaker of the Assembly's lower house, justice, judge of probate and of the county court. Sent to Boston in 1775 to keep watch of British movements, he shortly joins Washington at Cambridge at the head of a regiment of Connecticut militia; in 1777 becomes brigadier-general, and commands the first

Return Jon.ª Mugs Col.º Commnd.t

brigade of Connecticut militia, whom he leads to Peekskill and Danbury. Later he was judge of the State Supreme Court, and died in his native town, Sept. 15, 1793.

James Wadsworth was born in Durham, July 6, 1730; graduated from Yale in 1748; was town clerk of Durham for thirty years, and a member of the Committee of Safety before the Revolution. In 1776 he was colonel and then brigadier-general in the Connecticut militia; the next year major-general; and appointed to the defense of the Sound coast. He was afterwards judge of the New Haven county court, delegate to Congress 1783-6, and member of the Executive Council 1785-90; dying in Durham, Sept. 22, 1817.

Connecticut was represented in the Continental army by other than her own divisions of troops: she lent as well as borrowed important men. John Paterson, born 1744 in what is now New Britain, graduated from Yale in 1762, taught school and practiced law in his native place; in 1774 removed to Lenox, Mass., at once took position as one of the ablest of the patriot leaders, and was a member of the first Provincial Congress at Salem in that year. Eighteen hours after Lexington he reported at Cambridge at the head of a regimen of minute-men; he aided in fortifying Bunker Hill and defended the American rear in the battle. He shared the Canadian campaign; was at Trenton and Princeton; in 1777 was made brigadier-general and attached to the Northern Department, where he aided materially in the capture of Burgoyne; fought at Monmouth, New Jersey, and was made major-general. Serving till the close of the war, he afterward removed to Lisle, New York; where, after filling various political offices, including membership in Congress, he died July 19, 1808.

Among the representative Continental officers from Hart-

ford was Samuel Wyllys, who was born there Jan. 15, 1739; and graduated from Yale in 1758. On the outbreak of the war he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel; he commanded a regiment at the siege of Boston, and served with distinction through the war, becoming colonel in the Connecticut line. He succeeded his father as State Secretary in 1796, resigning in 1809; this office was held for ninety-eight successive years by three generations of the Wyllys family. Colonel Wyllys died June 9, 1823.

Joseph Trumbull, a son of the first Governor Trumbull, was born at Lebanon, March 11, 1737, and graduated at Harvard in 1756. He was the first commissary-general of the Continental Army, appointed in July 1775: it was inevitable that the commissary headship should be among Connecticut merchants, for the colony had the only large surplus of food unreachable by the British. In November 1777 he was placed on the Board of War; after five months' service he resigned from ill health, and died not long after at Lebanon, July 23, 1778.

Connecticut's representative in the United States' inchoate navy was Elisha Hinman, born at Stonington, March 9, 1734. At sea from the age of fourteen, he was a captain at nineteen, making voyages to Europe and the Indies. He was one of the first captains commissioned for naval service in the Revolution; was wounded in an engagement under Commodore Esek Hopkins, in April 1776; in August was appointed captain in the regular navy; was successively in command of three vessels, the "Alfred" last, which was captured and he was taken to England as a prisoner, but escaped to France. In Arnold's burning of New London, Captain Hinman lost all his property. When the Federalists began the new navy in 1794, he was offered the command of the "Constitution," but

declined on account of his advanced years. He was collector of customs at New London 1798-1802, and died there Aug. 29, 1807.

Ezra Lee, a native of Lyme, born in 1749, wins recollection from risking his life in an enterprise for the good of his country, supposed to be certain death. David Bushnell had invented a torpedo called the "Marine Turtle"; and General Parsons, with Washington's approval, selected Lee to attach it to the British war-ship "Eagle," anchored in New York harbor. The copper sheathing of the vessel rendered the plan abortive; Lee then tried the same experiment on another frigate, but was discovered too early. He served through the war, and died Oct. 29, 1825.

Two other veterans are commemorated for their enormous longevity. In the second year of the war, a body of troops known as the Washington Life Guards was organized, picked for physical endowments and general character. It comprised 180 men, afterwards increased to 250. Connecticut had several representatives in its ranks. The last survivor of the corps, Sergeant Uzal Knapp, was a native of Stamford; born 1759; and died at New Windsor, New York, Jan. 11, 1857. Lemuel Cook, born at Plymouth in 1764, joined the army at seventeen, in the last year of the war, and was in the campaign against Cornwallis; was honorably discharged at the close, removed at about seventy to Clarendon, New York, and died there May 20, 1866, leaving but two survivors of the Continental Army. F. M.

CHAPTER XII

Sketches of the Civil Characters of the Revolution

THE civil officials of a government, in time of war, have the same individual responsibilities as the military officers. Connecticut's statesmen were active during the American conflict, and they bore a prominent part in all of the national gatherings; that one of the most conspicuous of them was only a citizen by adoption does not detract from the laurels of the State, as the like condition in the military service does not.

Roger Sherman has been called a maker of the nation; he is the only man whose signature appears on the four greatest documents of early American history—namely, the Declaration of Independence, the Declaration of Rights, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution. He was a member of the committee which drafted the first three of these important documents. Sherman was born at Newton, Massachusetts, April 19, 1721; the day memorable for the blood of Lexington and Baltimore.

He was of English descent; but his great-grandfather became a resident of Watertown, Massachusetts, during its early days. His father was a shoemaker, and young Roger learned the trade; there was not enough of this business in a colonial country town to keep him employed, and he did farming between whiles. The loss of his father when he was twenty years old threw the burden of supporting his mother and several younger children upon his shoulders; on this account he removed with the family in 1743 to New Milford, Connecticut, where his elder brother was engaged in trade. His education had been limited to a common school in boyhood; but he was of the class who will always educate themselves. Shoemaking by hand is a good trade for this. A book and a lapstone are natural companions; and scholarly

shoemakers are not infrequent in history. Roger Sherman read and thought while he sewed and pegged, and he had a capacious and embracing intellect. His studies did not include the dead or foreign languages; but in the fields of history, science, mathematics, law, and theology, he was a solid student. He became proficient in mathematics, which naturally turned his attention to surveying; and while we find in 1745 that he had not entirely deserted his trade, in that year he became surveyor of lands for his county. This position was highly remunerative,—surveyors often figure in the inventories of colonial times,—and Sherman soon became a real-estate owner.

He passed the decade between 1750 and 1760 in trade, though in 1754 he was admitted to the bar; he also utilized his knowledge of astronomy, and published an almanac, which he continued over ten years. His political life began the year after he was admitted to the practice of law; his first office was justice of the peace, and the same year he was elected to the General Assembly. The age of thirty-eight found him a judge; two years later he removed to New Haven, and discontinuing his law practice, confined his attention to mercantile business.

In his new home, political honors awaited him: in 1764 he was again elected to the General Assembly, and two years later to the upper house of the legislature. The same year he became a judge of the Superior Court. He was elected an Assistant eighteen years, and resigned his position as judge on becoming, in 1789, a member of the national House of Representatives. As already noted he had been a member of the great convention which framed the Constitution in 1787. Other honors fell to him, or rather he was eagerly sought for other utilities: he was treasurer of Yale College for a

decade, a reviser of the statutes of Connecticut, and mayor of his adopted city from the time of its incorporation until his death.

Roger Sherman was like his elder colleague Benjamin Franklin: their public careers were analogous, the result of the office seeking the man; they outgrew the boundaries of one State, and their lives are a portion of national history. It is said that Sherman accomplished, at the age of twenty, what is considered greater than to conquer cities,—namely, a mastery of his passions; he was noted and esteemed for his calmness of nature and evenness of disposition. His rationality was his distinguishing trait: common-sense in him rose almost to genius.

That intellectual and statesmanlike qualities are hereditary, as proved by Mr. Galton, is exemplified in Roger Sherman's descendants—three of his grandsons occupied seats in the United States Senate. Their noble ancestor was elected to that body in 1791, but did not finish his term of office, as his death occurred at New Haven, July 23, 1793.

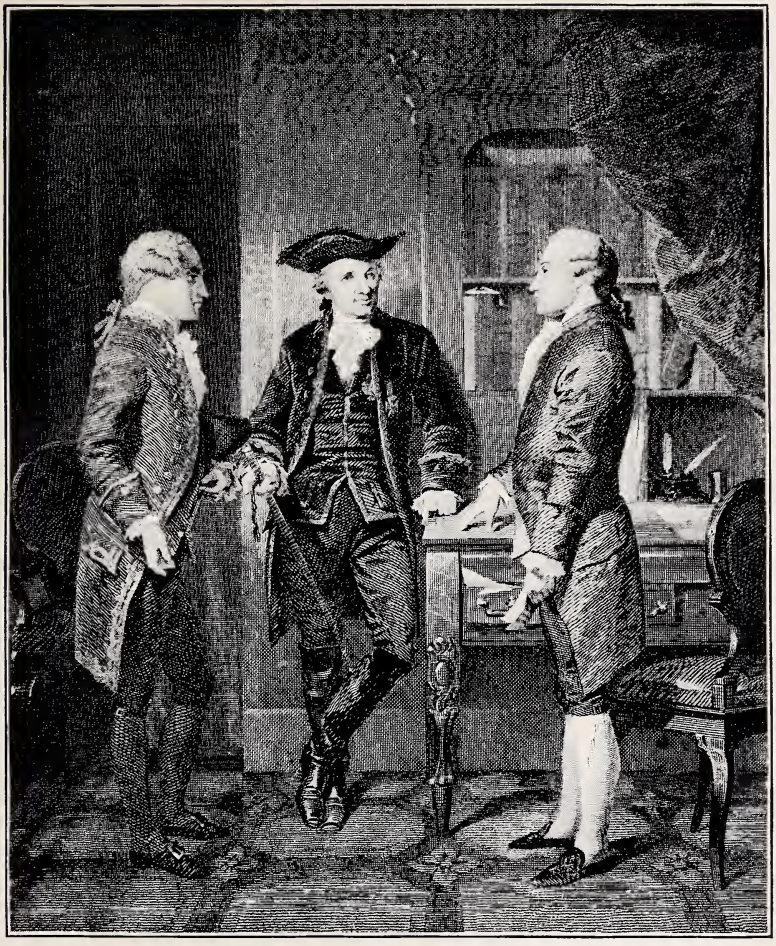
Among the Connecticut delegates to the Philadelphia convention in 1776 was William Williams, a son-in-law of Jonathan Trumbull. He was born in Lebanon, April 18, 1731; was a graduate of Harvard, a member of the Committee of Correspondence and Safety, and served in the Continental Congress. He died Aug. 2, 1811.

From the Southern province of Georgia came Lyman Hall, as a delegate to the convention called to proclaim the colonies independent; he was born at Wallingford in 1725, and graduated from Yale in 1747. He made choice of the medical profession, and emigrated to Sunbury, Georgia. He was a member of the provincial convention which voted that Georgia should join the confederacy of the States, also of the Con-

tinental Congress from 1775 to 1781, and governor of Georgia in 1783. He died in Burke County, Georgia, Oct. 19, 1790.

The convention which first promulgated a declaration of the independence of the United States, known as the Mecklenberg Declaration of Independence,—to whose reality we do not commit ourselves,—is said to have been held in the Court House at Charlotte, North Carolina. A member of that convention, and one of its promoters, was Waightstill Avery. He was born in Groton, Connecticut, May 3, 1745; studied law in Maryland, and began the practice of his profession in 1769, in Mecklenberg County, North Carolina. He was active in civil affairs, served as a colonel of militia during the war, and was the first State attorney-general of North Carolina. He died in Burke County, March 15, 1821.

Republics are proverbially ingrates; also proverbially, "Put not your trust in princes": the fact is that honors or dishonors are even. The most faithful servants of either, at times, suffer indignities for which no subsequent vindication can fully atone, or entirely remove from the victims the stain of calumnies engendered by political feuds. Such a sufferer was Silas Deane. He was born at Groton Dec. 24, 1737, graduating from Yale on attaining his majority; and engaged in mercantile business at Wethersfield. He was appointed delegate to the first Continental Congress, and became active in the formation of a naval force for the colonies. At the close of the year 1775, Congress appointed a committee for the sole purpose of holding secret communication with friends of America in foreign countries; the colonies were desirous of receiving recognition from, and obtaining alliances with, the European powers. In March, 1776, Silas Deane was appointed the first diplomatic agent for the embryo nation.



From the painting by Alonzo Chappell.

BARON DEKALB INTRODUCING LAFAYETTE TO SILAS DEANE

His instructions were to proceed to the French court, and operate there and elsewhere on the Continent; to obtain clothes and munitions of war for an army of 25,000 men, and to solicit the alliance of France if the colonies succeeded in attaining their independence.

Deane arrived in Paris in the summer of 1776, disguised as a private merchant; he received courteous treatment, but though Louis XV. was pleased at the break between Great Britain and her colonies, he feared to involve his country in open hostilities. Some of his advisers also had sense to see that a nominal autocracy would be mad to encourage democracy and rebellion. Previous to Deane's arrival, the famous Beaumarchais became acquainted with Arthur Lee, the London correspondent of Congress; secret negotiations were entered into between them, to supply the colonies with munitions of war. When Deane arrived in Paris, he was introduced to Beaumarchais by the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, and completed the arrangements whereby $200,000 worth of arms and military stores were sent to America.

Congress, in September 1776, appointed Franklin, Deane, and Jefferson commissioners to the Court of France; the latter declined the appointment, and Arthur Lee was substituted. This change in the formation of the commission was the beginning of Deane's downfall. Lee was of a jealous and glum temperament, and was envious of Deane's success in completing the arrangements which he had begun. Lee's ambition was the cause of discord among the commissioners; he accused Deane of misappropriation of moneys, and of giving promises of commissions to French officers, which Congress could not fulfil. These insinuations of the querulous Lee, suported by the testimony of other malcontents, caused a division in Congress which resulted in the recall of Deane;

he arrived in America in August 1778, and was exasperated by the treatment received and the false reports against him. He met the charge of misappropriating the funds with the statement that his vouchers were in Europe. He was compelled to return for his papers; and so unjust was Congress, that, owing to the influence of Lee and his supporters, they refused to allow Deane his bill of expenses. Though Franklin testified to his honesty and private worth, the machinations of his enemies succeeded, and Deane was driven into obscurity; he died in poverty at Deal, England, Aug. 23, 1789. Over a half-century after his demise, Congress liquidated the country's money indebtedness to his heirs; and his memory has been purged of unjust suspicions in the minds of the better informed.

In the first Connecticut delegation to the Continental Congress was Eliphalet Dyer, born at Windham Sept. 28, 1721. Graduating from Yale in 1740, he became a lawyer, and was a member of the Connecticut Assembly for seventeen years. He commanded a regiment during the French and Indian War. In 1763 we find him in England, as agent of the Susquehanna Company, in which he was interested. Colonel Dyer was a member of the Stamp Act Congress, and of the Continental Congress during the war, excepting in the year 1779; he was chief justice of the Superior Court for four years. He died in his native town May 13, 1807.

The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union bear the signatures of Titus Hosmer and Andrew Adams. The former was born in Middletown in 1736, of English parentage; his grandfather was an officer in Cromwell's army, and on the accession of Charles II. emigrated to America and settled at Middletown. Titus Hosmer graduated from Yale in 1757, and went into the law, becoming an able and honorable

attorney; he was a member of the Continental Congress, and died in the prime of life, at Middletown, Aug. 4, 1780. His colleague, Andrew Adams, was born in Stratford, January 1736; on his graduation from Yale in 1760, he was admitted to the bar; three years afterwards he removed to Litchfield. He was a member of the Continental Congress, an adroit and able lawyer, besides being a learned judge. Mr. Adams died in his adopted town, Nov. 26, 1797.

The eastern part of the State was represented in the Continental Congress by Richard Law, son of Governor Jonathan Law, born in New Milford, March 17, 1732; he graduated from Yale at eighteen, and having completed the study of law, removed to New London. He served in Congress in 1777-8, and also in 1781-4; an able student of jurisprudence, he assisted Roger Sherman in the revision of the statutes of the State; was chief justice of the Superior Court, and Washington appointed him judge of the District Court of the United States. Judge Law was for over twenty years mayor of his adopted town, where he died Jan. 26, 1806.

Among the early governors of the State of Vermont was Thomas Chittenden, born at East Guilford, now Madison, Jan. 6, 1730; he emigrated to Salisbury in 1751, and before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War removed to the New Hampshire grants, settling at Williston. Governor Chittenden was prominent in the early councils of the new State, was a leader in the convention that declared her independence, and helped to frame the first Constitution; he was elected governor in 1778, and filled the office, with the exception of one year, until his death at Williston, Aug. 24, 1797.

Connecticut can point with pride to the labors of her delegates, among the powerful intellects who gathered at Philadelphia in the summer of 1787, to formulate a stable con-

stitution. Conservative, watchful, alert, endowed by nature with eloquence in debate, versed in legal lore, their influence swayed a body composed of the foremost representatives of American political talent. The dean of the delegation, Roger Sherman, had been associated with other national gatherings, and brought an already solid fame with him. He was exceeded in seniority of age by only one member of the convention—the revered Franklin; his two colleagues, Johnson and Ellsworth, were faithful representatives of a people whose government in the past had been ultra-democratic in principle, yet where the voice of the minority had always received consideration by the majority.

William Samuel Johnson, the son of the Father of Episcopacy in Connecticut, was born in Stratford, Oct. 7, 1727; after graduating from Yale (where his father was loth to send him, thinking a colonial college of little worth) in 1744, he adopted law as a profession. He was a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress, and from 1761 to 1771 was Connecticut's agent in England. While residing in London, he became personally acquainted with Dr. Samuel Johnson, and on his return to America, he carried on a correspondence with the mighty Ursus Major. He became a judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut, and was a member of Congress from 1784 to 1787. Judge Johnson filled other important offices, which are mentioned elsewhere in this work. He died in his native town, Nov. 14, 1819.

A noted historian has said, "never was harmony between private and public virtue more complete than that which existed in the character of Oliver Ellsworth," who was born at Windsor April 29, 1745. His father brought him up in the characteristic and needful virtues of the hard New England life, work, frugality, and forethought; but he was proud

of the boy's precocious intellect, encouraged him, and had him alternate physical labors with preparatory studies for college. Oliver entered Yale at seventeen, but decided that he could obtain better advantages at the College of New Jersey (now Princeton); and in 1766 graduated there.. After five years' law study, intermingled with farming, he began the practice of law; appointed State's attorney, he removed to Hartford, and on the opening of hostilities took an active part. He was a member of the Continental Congress from 1776 to 1780, and was elected to the Council of Connecticut; in 1784 he was made judge of the Superior Court. Judge Ellsworth after his retirement from national affairs, of which further mention will be made, declined the office of Chief Justice of Connecticut on account of an incurable internal disease. His death occurred six months later at Windsor, on Nov. 26, 1807.

CHAPTER XIII

Connecticut Before the Adoption of a Federal Constitution

AT the close of the Revolutionary war, public affairs were in a chaotic state; while the independence of the United States had been acknowledged by foreign powers, the internal governments of the States were not uniform, and their diverging interests did not tend to the advantage of the body politic. The Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, which, with the tardy adoption by Maryland, were finally ratified by all the colonies, became a frame of government for the United States.

It would have been devoid of diplomacy and policy to offer, at this critical period in the nation's existence, a government armed with controlling power over States antagonistic in interests and jealous of each other; therefore the defects in the Articles of Confederation were due to the exigencies of the times. At the conclusion of peace, the fear of a common enemy being eradicated, the people became jealous of the powers of Congress. The freemen dreaded lest they had deposed one set of despotic rulers, only to have their places filled with demagogues of their own production.

The Continental Congress in 1778, at the solicitation of Washington, granted to officers of the army half-pay for life, subject to certain reservations by Congress. This caused uneasiness amongst the people, who looked upon it as a forerunner of a pension list, to create a subsidized army as the henchmen of a despotism. Congress in 1783 attempted to mitigate these impressions by commuting the half-pay for life to a full five-years' pay; putting it on the ground of recompensing the officers for the depreciation of the Continental currency in which they were paid. There was much popular indignation against this, for the reason that while an officer was allowed five years' pay, the rank and file were to

receive only one year. The feeling against the officers was augmented by the formation of a society among them, at the time of disbandment of the army, to which they gave the name of The Cincinnati; that is, those who had left their farms to save their country, and the war being over, returned to them. The society was in fact harmless enough; but the people imagined it a sort of Masonic order for the purpose of dividing up public offices among themselves. Malcontents throughout the country, aided by inflammatory publications in the newspapers, strove to arouse prejudices against both Congress and the officers. The feeling in Connecticut was more bitter and general than in her sister States, owing to her extreme democracy. The distrust of Congress was inflamed among the populace by the receipt of one Burke's pamphlet, in which he claimed that the organization of the Cincinnati was an attempt to form two classes among the people: the first a hereditary nobility, consisting of the military officers and the influential families of prominent men; the second of the people or plebeians.

Connecticut's case in regard to the Articles of Confederation was peculiar. For over one hundred and fifty years she had preserved autonomy to her people and had defied every vestige of authority not legitimately obtained from them. She was an exponent of State sovereignty; but the desolation inflicted by the war, which destroyed her foreign commerce, impoverished her coast towns, and bankrupted her merchants, forced her reluctantly to make even State rights subordinate to a national power, but to just the extent imperative and no further.

These vital questions were met, however, in Connecticut's own conservative way, through the medium of her town meetings. Committees were appointed at these meetings, who met

in convention at Middletown and passed resolves expressing disapprobation of the acts of Congress, for extra pay to officers and soldiers.

The financial question also became a leading factor in popular discontent. The general government had emitted vast sums of paper currency, and Spanish and French specie became abundant during the war, inflating the circulating medium. The people at the close of hostilities were destitute of clothing and other necessaries of life. A demand was created for foreign importations which depleted the country of specie, and the uncertain value of the Continental paper currency caused a stringency in the money market. The bulk of Connecticut's importations were necessarily through the ports of New York and Boston, and were subject to a tax levied by these States; she was therefore in favor of surrendering to Congress the right of taxing imports. This required the unanimous consent of the States, and her willingness was neutralized by Rhode Island's refusal to consent to the proposition.

These financial difficulties led the people of the State to view the officers of the late war as harpies, who were attempting to obtain riches from the misfortunes of their fellow citizens, and Congress was thought corrupt for abetting their efforts. These sentiments were expressed by the Middletown convention, and were concurred in by the Assembly at their October session 1783. Connecticut did not object to national taxation, but was opposed to the taxing power being used for the benefit of the members of the Society of the Cincinnati. She readily consented to the proposition of Congress, in 1783, to base taxation on the number of inhabitants in each State rather than on the lands. Her ready acquiescence in these acts of Congress is greatly to her credit, when it is remem-

bered that she had been deprived of her Pennsylvania possessions, and received in exchange but a pittance of Western reservation lands, small in comparison with those granted to satisfy the demands of Virginia.

The masses of the people of Connecticut were so discontented, that open sedition was likely. The better educated and informed citizens of the State, among whom were the clergy and the executive officers, were opposed to the unconstitutional step taken by the Middletown convention. By arguments and correspondence they supported the measures of Congress, contending that the additional pay allowed the army was necessary to maintain its organization, and that the expenses thus incurred would not be oppressive. Though in the minority, their endeavors took effect; the opposition subsided, the committees were dismissed, and tranquillity was restored to the State. The General Assembly, at its next session in May 1784, passed several measures which had previously been very unpopular.

The executive who piloted Connecticut through the troublous days of the Revolutionary War had passed the allotted period of threescore years and ten. Though urged repeatedly, to become again a candidate, he refused any further honors. His eighteen years' service as an executive officer, during the first three years of which he was Deputy Governor in this exciting time, had well earned him the merited reward of retirement from public affairs.

Jonathan Trumbull was the only colonial governor who took a stand against the British government in the Revolution, being almost the only one not appointed by it. He was born in Lebanon, Oct. 12, 1710; son of Joseph Trumbull, who ten years before Jonathan's birth moved to Lebanon, and engaged in trade. The younger Trumbull at the age of

thirteen entered Harvard College, graduating four years later. He studied theology, and was licensed to preach; but his services as a minister were brief. In 1731 we find him studying law, while engaged with his father at Lebanon in mercantile business.

Governor Trumbull's political life began in 1733, and continued without interruption for over half a century. He has been justly styled by a well-known writer "the presiding genius of Connecticut during the American conflict." He ended his days at Lebanon, Aug. 17, 1785.

The efforts of Governor Trumbull during the Revolution were ably seconded by Matthew Griswold, who filled the office of Deputy Governor during the entire period of his illustrious predecessor's occupancy of the executive chair. Governor Griswold was born at Lyme, March 25, 1714. He had no early educational advantages, and his success in life was due solely to a natural ability, which attracted public note while he was still a young man. He began the study of law at twenty-five, and soon after was admitted to the bar, and by indefatigable work became a prominent advocate. He entered political life in 1751. Governor Griswold was first elected to the gubernatorial chair in 1784, and served two terms; then, declining a re-election, he retired to private life. He was a sincere friend, of a benevolent disposition, and in his domestic life hospitable and charitable, enjoying an extensive acquaintance. He died in his native town, April 28, 1799.

Samuel Huntington was the son of a farmer, and was born in Windham, July 2, 1731. His ancestors were originally from Saybrook. The benefit of an early education were denied him, owing to his father's poverty; he worked at farming, varied by irregular attendance at the district schools.

He was his own instructor in Latin, and on arriving at his majority began the study of law, with borrowed books and no preceptor. With great perseverance he mastered the rudiments of his profession, and was admitted to the bar. His increasing clientage caused his removal to Norwich in 1760, where his public career soon afterwards began. He became a member of the General Assembly, and associate judge of the Superior Court; was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress, and in 1779 was chosen President of that body, which at that time was the highest office in the land.

On his forty-fifth birthday he participated in the debate on the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, of which he was a signer. Governor Huntington, owing to ill health, resigned his Congressional duties in 1781, and returning to his native State, resumed his seat upon the bench and his position as a member of the Council. He became a member of Congress in 1783, but resigned in the same year, and returned to private life. His appointment as Chief Justice of the Superior Court, and his election as Deputy Governor, occurred in 1784. Two years later he was made Governor, which position he held until his death at Norwich, Jan. 5, 1796.

Although not a collegian, Governor Huntington was invested with the degree of Doctor of Laws by Yale and Harvard Colleges. He was a man who talked little, was of a naturally retiring disposition, and to one not acquainted with him had the appearance of haughtiness; yet with his friends he was free and winning in his manner.

Governor Huntington's able assistant, during his occupancy of the chair, was one of the famous quartette whose signatures ornament the Declaration of Independence. Oliver Wolcott was a son of Governor Roger Wolcott, and

Sam^a Huntington

was born at Windsor Nov. 26, 1726; after graduating from Yale in 1747, he began the study of medicine with his brother, Dr. Alexander Wolcott, and in 1751 entered upon that profession at Goshen. His entrance into political life dates from the organization of Litchfield County, when he was elected its first sheriff. He became a member of the State Council in 1774, and two years later was chosen a delegate to the Continental Congress, holding both positions until 1786.

After the adjournment of Congress in 1776 he returned home, and was appointed by Governor Trumbull to the command of the Connecticut militia, which consisted of fourteen regiments raised for the defense of New York. This body of troops was thoroughly organized by General Wolcott, and took part in the battle of Long Island; after which their commander returned to Connecticut, and the following winter occupied his seat in Congress. During the year 1777 we find General Wolcott commanding a brigade, with which he reinforced General Putnam on the Hudson River and took part in the capture of Burgoyne's army. He was present at the session of the Continental Congress held at York, Pennsylvania, in the fall of 1777; on its adjournment he returned to his native State, and was placed in command of the State militia at the time of Tryon's raid. His attendance in Congress from 1780 to 1784 was irregular, his time being occupied with the military and civil affairs of Connecticut.

At the cessation of hostilities, General Wolcott was appointed Indian agent, and was a member of the commission which effected the treaty of peace with the Six Nations. On the death of Governor Huntington, Wolcott became the State executive *ad interim,* and at the next general election was chosen his successor.

Governor Wolcott was re-elected, but did not complete his term of office; his death occurred Dec. 1, 1797. He was a singularly modest man, even diffident in his intercourse with men, in the common walks of life. Lossing says, "As a patriot and statesman, a Christian and a man, Governor Wolcott presented a bright example of inflexibility, virtue, piety, and integrity."

CHAPTER XIV

The Western Reserve

THE war clouds of the Revolution had scarcely disappeared from the horizon—in fact, it was only a fortnight after the surrender of Cornwallis—when Pennsylvania, although she had remained inert during the hostilities, petitioned Congress, the new arbitrator between the States, to adjudicate her claims to Westmoreland. The status of the case had entirely changed. The State of Pennsylvania appeared as a complainant instead of the Penn heirs. This gave a wholly new aspect to the case. The Penns, unsupported by the people of Pennsylvania and striving only to keep the Wyoming territory a waste for their future personal profit and aggrandizement, were powerless against the swarming Connecticut immigration. Settlement could only be opposed by settlement; those who would use the land by others who would use it. The Penns were on little better footing than the Indians, and like them were justly ousted by the forces of civilization. But when Pennsylvania wanted to use her own door-yard for civilized purposes, there was another case in equity if not in law.

The bulk of the Connecticut survivors had returned to the Wyoming Valley in the autumn of the year of the massacre. The Indians had again raided the territory, and the white people suffered disasters of every description; yet in defiance of mortal danger, they maintained their occupancy of the lands.

Among those—swept along by the tide of emigration that had swelled the settlements at Westmoreland, was Colonel John Franklin, destined to play an important part in the affairs of the new Connecticut. The Continental Congress, solicited to adjudicate on the ownership of the disputed territory, was placed in a dilemma. The confederation was a part-

nership of States claiming free sovereignty except as contributing quotas to a common defensive organization, and did not possess the power to arbitrate in disputes between its members. It therefore recommended that the subject of jurisdiction should be left to a board of commissioners, selected by delegates from the two States.

This board was to consist of seven members, of whom five constituted a quorum; they were to be selected from four States, New England having but two representatives in the body; the populous State of Virginia had three, while the State contiguous to Pennsylvania had two.

It would seem that Connecticut had not much to expect from the delegates chosen to the commission. Virginia had always been opposed to New England, and New Jersey's interests coincided with those of Connecticut's opponent. The original delegates reported to Congress, on Aug. 12, 1782, were William Whipple of New Hampshire, Nathaniel Greene of Rhode Island, David Brearly and William Churchill Houston of New Jersey, Cyrus Griffin, Joseph Jones, and John Rutledge of Virginia. General Greene and Mr. Rutledge declined the appointment,and Welcome Arnold and Thomas Nelson were substituted.

The Court was opened at Trenton, New Jersey, Nov. 12, 1782; Commissioners Whipple, Arnold, Houston, Griffin, and Brearly being present. Connecticut's counsel were Eliphalet Dyer, William Samuel Johnson, and Jesse Root; while William Bradford, Joseph Reed, James Wilson, and Jonathan D. Sargeant appeared for Pennsylvania. The position of the Court was definitely stated when, in answer to the petition of the Wyoming settlers, they replied that their jurisdiction extended only to State rights, and not to the settler's right of soil. The Court sat forty-one judicial days and

heard testimonies and lengthy arguments; but there is no record of its sessions or deliberations. Before delivering a verdict, they agreed among themselves that no reasons should be assigned for it, and that it should be made unanimous. They arrived at the following judgment on Dec. 13, 1782: "We are unanimously of opinion that the jurisdiction and preemption of all territory lying within the charter of Pennsylvania, and now claimed by the State of Connecticut, do of right belong to the State of Pennsylvania." On the promulgation of the Trenton Decree, Connecticut, which under protest had held control over Westmoreland for nine years, withdrew her jurisdiction.

The Susquehanna Company had held no meetings from 1774 to 1782; just previous to the holding of the Trenton Court, they appointed the State's attorneys their agents. The stockholders of the company were surprised at the decision of the Court, and petitioned the General Assembly, at its May session in 1783, to request Dr. Johnson and Colonel Root to give an account of the trial. The confidence of the company in Colonel Dyer was not shaken, as he was not included in the requested investigation. The General Assembly, however, took no action on the petition.

The Connecticut delegates concurred in the action of the Continental Congress, in withdrawing the national troops from the Wyoming Valley. Connecticut's acquiescence in the decision is greatly to her credit: the country was in a turbulent state, and a show of resistance to the authority of the Continental Congress would have endangered the union of the States. But her not requiring a guarantee for the protection of her sons, who had so nobly defended the Wyoming Valley and her jurisdiction over the territory, despite all excuses was not creditable, and leaves an ill taste in the mouth to this

day. She could have exacted it had she firmly insisted on it as a *sine qua non* of relinquishing jurisdiction; it was worth fighting for, and a most righteous cause. Why it was so tamely abandoned is still a mystery; the northwestern land grant in lieu of it by Congress was some compensation as a State, but to take it from the pockets of the Wyoming settlers was not equitable. Unofficially, however, the Connecticut people and the Susquehanna Company still kept up the struggle and supported the settlers, and at last the State was forced to interfere again.

It is not within the scope of this work to follow the indignities and persecutions heaped upon the Connecticut settlers in the Wyoming Valley, in their attempted protection of the homes they had reclaimed from the savages and the wilderness. The action of the Pennsylvania authorities became so despicable and unjustifiable that it threatened the dissolution of the Confederation, by the prospect of a civil war. The formation of a new State was agitated, to be called Franklin or Susquehanna; the project was enthusiastically backed in New England and New York. The plan was to send a large number of emigrants into the territory; and Colonel Ethan Allen with a number of the Green Mountain Boys were again to attempt the formation of an independent commonwealth.

The Connecticut schemers had drawn up a plan of government and had a constitution prepared, and the first Governor and Lieutenant-Governor had been selected. To disrupt the new State movement, Pennsylvania passed the Conforming Act of 1787; this was a compromise which a majority of the Wyoming settlers were in favor of accepting. Colonel Timothy Pickering, who had been appointed one of Pennsylvania's commissioners, stopped all revolutionary demonstrations by his diplomatic efforts, in connection with this Act.

Pennsylvania was savagely bent on confiscating the lands outright. The legislature in 1790 repealed the compromise measure of 1787, declaring it unconstitutional. But the holders of the Pennsylvania land titles gained nothing by this greedy action, as the long-suffering Connecticut settlers still held their possessions, though the legal warfare was continued. It was not until 1807 that a clear title to the lands was obtained by the Yankees; they made the State a trifling payment, and the last vestige of injustice was obliterated,—just half a century from the time the first Connecticut settlement was made on the Delaware River.

In a résumé of the advantages derived by each State, we find Pennsylvania the chief gainer, as indicated in a former volume. The settlement was not against but in favor of Pennsylvania as such, however the Penns' pockets might suffer. Trade and industry were immensely helped; and the Yankee blood of the northern territory was a useful supplement to the Quaker and the Dutch of her southern section. The persistency and energetic business qualifications of her Connecticut-bred settlers, in the development of her mineral resources, redounded to the credit and riches of the Commonwealth.

Connecticut, by sturdily maintaining her charter boundaries as extending to the Pacific, and by illustrating her belief in making actual settlements, became the possessor of that region of the Northwest Territory called the Western Reserve of Connecticut. This exceeded in area the original domains of our State.

The difficulty in the ratification of the Articles of Confederation was in the establishment of the disputed boundaries of the different States. Six of the thirteen States by their charters had defined limits. Among the claimant States was

Connecticut, who claimed according to her royal grants the territory between her parallels of latitude as far as the Mississippi River, which had been established in 1763 as the western boundary of the British possessions in America. The problem that confronted the general government was to obtain the acquiescence of the various claimants to the disputed territory between the established boundaries and the Mississippi. This darkened, and for a time retarded, the prospects for the formation of an American Union. It was not until sacrifices were made by the claimant States, that disruption was averted.

Connecticut was the last State, and reluctantly, to give her sanction to the cession of the territory to the general government. An act passed by the General Assembly, on May 11, 1786, relinquished all her right, title, interest, jurisdiction, and claim to lands within her chartered limits, lying west of a reservation of one hundred and twenty miles in length, between latitudes 41° and 42° 2′ north, and west of and parallel with the western boundary of the State of Pennsylvania.

This reservation—the Western Reserve of Connecticut—was the subject of a protracted debate in Congress. It was stigmatized as a Yankee bargain to convey and relinquish an elusive, intangible, and imaginary title to a visionary and unproductive territory, for a tract of solid land with a sure title and definite boundaries. That Connecticut's claim to the reservation should have received the unanimous support of the delegates of the State against which she had been so lately arrayed in land controversies, is strongly presumptive evidence that there was some secret understanding between the representatives of the two Commonwealths at the Court held

at Trenton. Furthermore, the territory thus reserved was about equal to that relinquished in Pennsylvania.

Connecticut's bitterest opponents were the delegates from Virginia and Maryland; Washington was in the opposition; but the Virginians finally acquiesced, knowing that Connecticut would immediately settle her reservation with emigrants, who would form a barrier between the British and the Indian tribes, thereby enhancing the value of the adjoining territory, in which they were interested.

The States, excepting Maryland, agreeing to Connecticut's proposition, Congress accepted the cession of the territory on May 23, 1786; it was duly completed on the 17th of the following September.

The reservation, according to the latest authorities, contained 3,366,921 acres, or over 5,260 square miles, an excess over the area of the mother State of 173,921 acres. It embraced the present Ohio counties of Ashtabula, Trumbull, Lake, Geauga, Portage, Cuyahoga, Medina, Lorain, Huron, and Erie, the greater part of Mahoning and Summit, and small portions of Ashland and Ottawa, in which is located the chief city of Ohio. That the population of this vast territory should at the beginning of the twentieth century number within a few thousand of that of the mother State, is a living monument to Connecticut's far-sighted patriotism and enterprise.

As soon as peace was established with Great Britain, a commission was appointed by the Connecticut legislature to estimate the damage done to private citizens by British raids during the Revolutionary war. The committee reported the results of their labors as follows:

New London burnt Sept. 6, 1781....	£145,788	15s.	6d.
Groton burnt Sept. 6, 1781.....	23,217	6	
Scattering towns burnt Sept. 6, 1781.	9,806	9	2
	£178,812	10	8
Norwalk burnt by the British in 1779	34,867	9	2
Confiscated property and other losses.	2,077		
	£36,944	9	2
Greenwich	6,365	11	8
Losses of men not on oath	369	17	7
	£6,735	9	3
Fairfield burnt in 1779	40,809	2	10
New Haven ravaged by Tryon in July 1779	24,893	7	6
East Haven ravaged by Tryon in July 1779	4,882	16	4
West Haven ravaged by Tryon in July 1779	474	0	3
Other losses	586	0	1
	£30,836	4	2

Total amount of the losses in the whole State, according to the money value in 1774, £294,236 16s. 1d. This estimate included merchandise and public buildings; exclusive of these, the loss was estimated to be £167,000.

It was not until May 1792 that the legislature made provision to reimburse the war sufferers. In that year 500,000 acres of the extreme western part of the Reserve, comprising the greater part of what is now Huron and Erie counties and

a small portion of Ottawa, was deeded to those having claims, and the tract became known as the Fire Lands. The following year the General Assembly appointed a committee consisting of one from each county, empowering them to sell and give deeds for the balance of the territory, to purchasers whose proposals were sanctioned by six of the members of the committee; the purchasers were allowed six years in which to pay for their allotments.

The lands were disposed of in thirty-six parcels. The heaviest purchaser was Oliver Phelps, who, individually and in partnership, took over $250,000 worth. Gideon Granger's purchases amounted to $80,000; and Pierpont Edwards, a son of Jonathan Edwards, negotiated for $60,000 worth of landed property. The smallest sum received was nearly $1,700. The total sales amounted to $1,200,000, payable in five years, with interest after the second year.

The purchasers of the tract formed the Connecticut Land Company. The settlement of the territory and the efforts of this corporation were retarded by the lack of acknowledged jurisdiction over the territory. To establish law and order, the whole Reserve was converted into a county, and named Trumbull, in honor of the Governor in office at that time.

The difficulty which prevented the land company from giving titles, and also retarded their sales, was solved by Congress passing the "Easement Act," in which Connecticut ceded to the United States her jurisdiction over the territory, the general government releasing to her all right, title, and claim to the soil.

The distribution of the money from the land sales became a matter of controversy in Connecticut. In the same year that the sales committee was appointed, an act was introduced

in the legislature, that the money derived from the sales should be used in the establishment of a perpetual fund; the interest on said fund to be appropriated to the several ecclesiastical congregations for support of ministers and schools of education.

The opposition to this act was strong throughout the State; while it passed in the lower house of the legislature it was defeated in the upper. The question was debated for two years at the town meetings, in the pulpits, and in the newspapers. The General Assembly, at the May session of 1795, passed a bill appropriating the interest of the purchase money to the support of schools in the several societies; the same to be kept according to the provisions of law. This act created the Connecticut School Fund. The fund, still intact, but largely augmented, is now performing the duties assigned it by its promoters, for a free educational system.

One of the most important participators in these early land speculations was Oliver Phelps; who, according to Stiles' "History of Ancient Windsor," was born in that town Aug. 11, 1758, though most authorities give the year as 1749. He removed from his native town to Suffield; received a mercantile education, and engaged in business in Granville, Massachusetts. During the Revolutionary War he was employed by the State of Massachusetts in the commissary department, and used his personal notes as a circulating medium. In 1789 he purchased from Massachusetts, in connection with Nathaniel Gorham, 2,200,000 acres in the western part of New York State; he removed to Canandaigua, and opened the first land office ever established in America. Mr. Phelps originated a system of townships and ranges, which with modifications was generally adopted in surveying United States government lands. From his adopted town he was appointed

Judge of the Circuit Court, and elected member of Congress. He died there, Feb. 21, 1809.

Soon after the close of the Revolution, the American people throughout the country became involved in land speculations. The enterprising citizens of Virginia sent agents to New England to descant on the value of land, and sell fictitious acreage in the Shenandoah Valley at a comparatively small price. The leading men of Virginia countenanced and gave the influence of their names to these unscrupulous enterprises, and an enormous area of tangled wilderness was disposed of, in what is now West Virginia and Kentucky. The Virginia laws regarding land titles were extremely loose; and the public records were deficient, so that a dozen surveys covered the same lands, in part or in whole. The original land titles were often taken in the name of a bankrupt, which allowed the rightful owner to evade a personal liability. If the Virginians were careless in buying, they were remarkably shrewd in selling; they flooded the Eastern market with plausible and cunning salesmen, and millions of acres were disposed of to the "overreaching" Yankees. The Connecticut people invested their hard earnings in numberless acres which proved worthless and unsalable, even undiscoverable; they became thoroughly alarmed in 1798, and the following year deputized a prominent lawyer to visit the region and ascertain their position as landowners in the South. Though their agent was a man of unimpeachable integrity and legal ability, and spent the best part of two years in a trackless wilderness, the Southern schemers had so perfected their plans that he was unable to obtain any money consideration for the large amounts invested by his Connecticut clients.

In fact, in obtaining others' goods without consideration, the Southerner has never shown himself a whit behind the Northerner.

CHAPTER XV

Connecticut in the Federal Constitutional Convention

THE limitation of the powers of Congress under the Articles of Confederation negatived most of its usefulness. It could do nothing but ask for supplies mostly refused and make recommendations not acted on. This caused the non-attendance of members, which made it difficult to obtain a quorum for business, and increase the difficulty of inducing able men to serve. The consent of seven States was necessary to consider any resolution except adjournment. Without the consent of the nine States, Congress could not engage in war, enter into any alliance or treaty, fix the revenue for public defense, coin money or regulate its value, emit bills of credit, borrow money, make appropriations, levy taxes, build or purchase war vessels, or raise troops.

The public feeling became universal, that a stronger compact of government was necessary to preserve the concord of the States; that they must resign a portion of their sovereign rights to a national government, which should be coercive in its powers and paramount in its functions. As early as 1780 this was advocated by Hamilton, who suggested the holding of a convention to devise a plan for strengthening the Federal Constitution. He saw like others the evils of the powerless Confederation; but he had not been through the experiences of American-born citizens, had no fear of a strong general government, and wished to give complete supremacy to Congress.

Through the influence of Hamilton, the New York legislature in 1782 passed a concurrent resolution recommending the holding of a general convention of the States to amend the Articles of Confederation. Congress for lack of revenue was confronted with national bankruptcy, the most danger-

ous symptom of a political dissolution, and making foreign intervention possible.

A convention was held at Hartford in November 1780, at which the four New England States and New York were represented; it was called to devise means for the establishment of a state revenue for the United States, to defray the accrued interest on loans, and to give Congress the power to negotiate future indebtedness. The convention recommended that Congress should have the power to apportion taxes by the number of inhabitants of the States, rather than on the land; they recognized the lack of Congress' power of coercion, and deemed it dangerous to the peace and freedom of the States. These principles were embodied in a set of resolutions, copies of which were forwarded to Congress and the legislatures of each State. This was during the excitement attendant on the Revolutionary War, and the importance of the suggestions did not receive the recognition it otherwise would. The legislatures of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in a general way, approved of the sentiments embodied in the communication.

The power of Congress was fast disappearing. A serious blow was the veto of Rhode Island (the unanimous consent of all the States being required) on allowing it to raise a revenue by an import duty of five per cent., *ad valorem,* on all goods of foreign growth and manufacture. Connecticut's share of the $1,500,000 to be raised for the annual support of the national government was $132,091. She had favored the importation tax, also the limitation of the period to a term of twenty-five years. In the apportionment of national expenses, Connecticut was fifth, the amount assessed to her being exceeded by that of the States of Virginia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

The formation of the Northwest Territory, the state of trade, the navigation of the rivers forming boundaries between States, and the unsuccessful attempt to establish the independent State of Franklin, led the Virginia legislature in 1786 to appoint commissioners and extend invitations to her sister States, to nominate delegates to meet at Annapolis and consider measures for coping with these difficulties. The convention met in September 1786. New York, New Jersey, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Delaware were the only States represented. The legislatures of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and North Carolina appointed commissioners, but they failed to appear; the other States remained silent.

The delegates from New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia were in favor of considering only acts pertaining to trade and commerce, and reporting to their several State legislatures. The commissioners from Delaware favored a similar plan, though they desired that the resolutions should be ratified by all the State deelgates. The New Jersey representatives had an enlarged plan, which contemplated the adoption of articles to meet all the "exigencies of the Union." The convention readily saw the feasibility of New Jersey's plan, but owing to the representation being partial and defective, and to their wish for the opinion of every State, it was decided that the States should be invited to appoint commissioners to a convention at Philadelphia the following May. This was to revise the Articles of Confederation so as to render them adequate to the "exigencies of the Union." These resolutions of the Annapolis convention were promulgated by Congress on Feb. 21, 1787; accompanied by recommendations that the States appoint delegates to attend a convention "for the sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of

Confederation." This to Congress appeared the most probable means of establishing in the States a firm national government.

The desire for a stronger centralized power of government had been increased in New England by the outbreak of Shays' rebellion: all the States except Rhode Island readily responded to Congress' invitation to appoint commissioners. At the May session of the General Assembly, William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman, and Oliver Ellsworth were appointed to attend the Philadelphia convention as commissioners from Connecticut. On the day set, May 14, 1787, delegates from the different States began to assemble at the State house in Philadelphia; it was not, however, until the 25th of the month, that nine States, represented by twenty-nine delegates, organized the convention for business.

The assemblage was composed of the illustrious men of the States; the selection of Washington to preside over its deliberations was in accordance with the spirit of harmony that brought the delegates together. The commissioners from Virginia, which was the most populous State, had utilized the time preceding organization in formulating fifteen resolutions as a basis for a new Constitution; these were ably presented by Edmund Randolph, and became known as the Virginia plan. These resolutions advocated the enlargement of the powers of Congress, by establishing two branches of the national legislature. The first was to be elected by the people, and its membership to be apportioned to each State according to its quota of contribution or to the number of free inhabitants; the second was to be elected by the first. Each branch was to have the right of originating acts. To the national legislature was delegated the rights vested in Congress by the Articles of Confederation. They were to legis-

late on all cases to which the separate States were incompetent, or in which the harmony of the United States might be disturbed by the exercise of individual legislation. They were to have the power to negative all laws passed by the several States contravening, in the opinion of the national legislature, the Articles of Union, or any treaty subsisting under the authority of the Union; and to call the national force against any State failing to fulfil its duties.

A national executive was to be elected by the legislature, to be ineligible for a second term. There was to be a council of revision, consisting of members of the national judiciary, to have a veto over any act of the national legislature. The legislative, executive, and judiciary powers of the States were required to take oath to support the articles of Union. These resolutions were referred to a committee of the whole.

On the day of the submission of the Virginia Plan, Connecticut's representative, Oliver Ellsworth, took his seat in the body; his colleague, Roger Sherman, made his first appearance the following day; Connecticut's delegation was completed, June 2, with the seating of William Samuel Johnson. The first question considered was whether the government to be established should be of a federal or national character. The latter idea predominated, as it was thought it would be sanctioned by the people, who wanted something stronger than a federal form of government, which was simply a league of the States. A national government had a complete and comprehensive operation, while a federal government was a mere compact, resting on the good faith of the people.

Roger Sherman, who was one of the committee that drafted the Articles of Confederation, on the day he took his seat admitted that Congress did not have sufficient power, but thought all that was necessary was to amend the Articles of

Confederation. He advised enlarging their powers of raising moneys, but was opposed to nationalizing the government: he feared any radical change would not be sanctioned by the people. This seems not to have been the opinion of the convention; for by the vote of seven States, it was agreed that a national government should be established, consisting of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary body. The vote of New York was divided on the proposition; Connecticut's was recorded in the negative. That the legislative body should consist of two branches was agreed upon by all the States; Pennsylvania at first dissenting.

The position of Connecticut in the national gathering was early grasped by her sagacious representatives. In point of population, she was midway between the large and small States. Her boundaries were definitely fixed, so there could be no future extensions. She was an agricultural State, her area was subdivided into farms, which made her confines proportionally populated. Situated as Connecticut was, between the two seaports of New York and Boston, the attainment of her zenith would necessarily be gradual, not spasmodic. The larger States, in the formation of a new union, were looking for an aggrandizement of power. Connecticut having had to fight for life in the past from the encroachments of Massachusetts and New York, her representatives thought under the new system to equalize the representation, and to counteract the influence of population. Her delegates were able and noted jurists. In the early sessions, in deference to his seniority and experience, pre-eminence was given to Roger Sherman; but the avowed principles of the new school of republicanism, of which Johnson and Ellsworth were disciples, marked them as leaders in connection with their eloquence and diplomacy. Their constituency, from the first set-

tlement of the colony, had been used to almost universal suffrage.

In the preliminary work of the convention, as a committee of the whole, Connecticut's delegates took an active part; though their earlier views were changed by the debates and intercourse with the other members of the body. Sherman, in speaking of the membership of the first branch of the national legislature, advocated that they be chosen by the State assemblies; and that "the people should have as little to do as possible about government, as they lacked information, and were liable to be misled." The vote of Connecticut was divided on the proposition. Sherman still insisted that it was vital to the existence of State governments, and if it was the desire to abolish that form of government, the election ought to be by the people.

On the great question of suffrage, it was the express desire of the convention that representation should be based on population. The New England States and Pennsylvania were opposed to the enumeration of slaves, considering them merely personal property. The real issue was not in national but local representation. The same principle had to be applied in both cases; and in State affairs if only whites were counted, the predominance of power would be given to the poor districts which held few slaves, instead of the rich ones which held many. This the planting interest would not suffer; and the final compromise was a means of keeping the local power in the hands of the planter aristocracy. Three-fifths of the slaves were to be counted in apportioning representation.

The position of Connecticut in the convention was clearly defined on June 10, when Sherman introduced his famous resolution that representation in the lower branch should be proportionate, not equal. This placed Connecticut in conjunc-

tion with those who represented the populous jurisdictions. The proposition was carried by the vote of seven States. To counteract this step, and to restore her prestige with her former allies, on the same day a motion was made by Sherman. and seconded by Ellsworth, that in the second branch of the legislature, each State should have a vote. This resolution became the rock of contention, and was known as the "Connecticut proposition." It was voted down, and the convention adopted a resolution that the membership of the Senate should be determined by proportional suffrage.

Mr. Paterson, of the New Jersey delegation, on June 15, presented for the consideration of the convention a series of nine resolutions, which were known as the New Jersey plan. They differed from the Virginia Plan, in that they favored only one branch of the legislature, whose power was derived from the States; instead of one executive head, it favored several. This became known as the State Sovereignty plan. Although it utterly failed, it formed the basis of a compromise, which brought the Connecticut representatives prominently before the body.

Hamilton, who had remained silent during the convention, introduced on June 16 a plan of government leaning toward aristocracy; and advocated that the membership of executive, judiciary, and Senate, should be for life or good behavior.

The report of the committee of the whole was taken up in detail on June 20. Ellsworth's proposition, that the national government should consist of a supreme legislative, executive, and judiciary body, was unanimously adopted. To pacify the fears of New Jersey and Delaware, the word "national" was dropped. Ellsworth moved as a substitute that "the government of the United States" be adopted; this was concurred in by a majority. That the legislature should consist of two

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branches was opposed by Sherman: while he admitted that in State legislatures two branches were necessary, he did not consider it so in the confederacy of States. Referring to the Articles of Confederation, of which he was one of the originators, he declared that Congress had carried through a war as well as any government could.

It was on the 21st of June that William Samuel Johnson made his maiden speech in the convention. He contrasted the New Jersey and Virginia plans of government, and favored the preserving of the distinct individuality of the States; in order to do this, he agreed that they must have equal votes in the general council. Sherman yielded to his colleague, and Connecticut voted for two branches of the legislature; also that the election of the members of the first branch should be by the people.

The Connecticut delegation was opposed to a three-years' term for representatives. Sherman preferred annual elections, but would be contented with biennial. He thought the representatives ought to return home and mingle with the people; that an extended stay at the national capital would cause them to acquire habits of thought differing from their constituents. It was the foresight of common-sense which enabled the man who, Jefferson declared, "never said a foolish thing in his life," so faithfully to portray the legislators of the United States in the twentieth century.

The proposition favored by Delaware and Connecticut, that each State should pay its own representatives, was defeated in its incipiency.

The composition of the second branch of the legislature was brought before the convention on June 29. It was introduced by Dr. Johnson, who made a forcible argument. He pointed out that States were districts of people, comprising

one political society; that as States do exist as political bodies, governments are formed for them in their political capacity as well as for individuals; that they require means of self-defense; and while their interests are homogeneous with the people, they should be considered as political entities. Therefore, while the people by districts should be represented in one branch of the legislature, the other should represent the States. Ellsworth immediately proposed that in the second branch of the legislature, each State should have an equal representation; this was combated by Baldwin of Georgia, who was in favor of the upper house representing the relative wealth of their constituents. Ellsworth's motion was lost by a vote of six to five.

From this time on, the motion for equal representation in the upper house was brought forward by the delegates from Connecticut. The smaller States, wishing to strengthen their forces, introduced a motion requiring the attendance of the delegates from New Hampshire. The persistency of Connecticut's delegates, in keeping the "Connecticut plan" before the convention, of State equality in the upper house and proportionate representation in the lower, nearly caused a disruption of the convention. This was prevented by the influence of Franklin, who, true to his New England birth, counseled that the sessions of the body should be opened with prayer. His phlegmatic calmness countervailed the Southern impetuousity, and harmonized his Northern associates. He advocated referring the matter to a committee. Sherman agreed, saying that "such a committee is necessary to put us right." The convention on July 2 therefore referred the "Connecticut proposal" to a committee of one from each State. The body adjourned for three days to await their report. Ellsworth was Connecticut's representative on the committee;

Baldwin of Georgia, another member, was also a native of the State; in the Pennsylvania delegation was Jared Ingersoll, likewise born in Connecticut.

The day after the eleventh anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, the committee reported in favor of the "Connecticut proposal." What influences were brought to bear in the committee room will forever remain secret: perhaps simply common-sense, and seeing at once what others saw later. The report met with a storm of opposition. Madison, Wilson, and other delegates of the larger States, could hardly control their indignation. Connecticut's delegates, with her faithful allies, stood firm; and when, on the 7th of July, they were joined by the commissioners from North Carolina, victory was assured. The convention was more at liberty to proceed to arrange the further details of the Constitution.

Thus was Connecticut's great work accomplished. Her delegates, however, lent their forensic eloquence and legal ability to subsequent debates. But the leadership they had asumed from a sense of duty was dropped as soon as the occasion which called for it was past. The Constitution was signed by Sherman and Johnson; the unavoidable departure of Ellsworth before the adjournment of the convention is the reason his signature does not appear upon the document.

The State convention called to ratify the Federal Constitution met at Hartford, Jan. 4, 1788. Matthew Griswold was chosen presiding officer. The delegates were addressed by Oliver Ellsworth, Governor Huntington, Richard Law, and Oliver Wolcott. The Constitution was ratified Jan. 9, by 128 to 40; in the ratification, Connecticut was the fifth State. New Jersey, Delaware, and Georgia gave a unanimous consent; Pennsylvania was carried by 46 to 23. Re-

viewing the vote of the convention in detail, we find that the learned Johnson, the reserved Huntington, and the astute Hosmer, at the head of their resident county delegations, were able to record a unanimous vote for ratification from Fairfield, New London, and Middlesex counties. The delegates from Hartford County, at whose head was the able Ellsworth, voted 28 ayes to 6 nays, and two *nil dict;* the negative votes were from the towns of Enfield, Granby, Simsbury, and Suffield. The result in Sherman's home county, if universally followed, would have deprived the people of the United States of a Constitution that has been able to adapt itself to many changed conditions. The vote of New Haven County was 9 ayes to 13 nays, and one *nil dict.* The towns of Branford, Durham, East Haven, Guilford, North Haven, Wallingford, Woodbridge, and Cheshire divided, were opposed to the ratification. The cause of this vote is hard to determine. New Haven was not less loyal than her sister counties; neither can it be attributed to lack of enterprise or progress, or that her people were satisfied with the Articles of Confederation, and wished no change.

The vote of Tolland County was 11 yeas to 5 nays; the delegates from the towns of Hebron, Somers, and Ellington, being in the minority. In the Windham County delegation, there was one town unrepresented; the vote was 15 yeas to 7 nays, the latter cast by the delegates from Pomfret, Mansfield, and Woodstock, with Lebanon divided. The total vote of Litchfield County was 36; there was one delegate absent. Of her thirty-five votes twenty-six were in the affirmative; the towns of Barkhamsted, Cornwall, Harwinton, New Hartford, Norwalk, Sharon, and Torrington casting nine votes opposing the ratification.

CHAPTER XVI

In the Days of Washington

THE Constitution having been ratified by New Hampshire in June 1788, this making the ninth State, and the Continental Congress having received legal notification, a resolution was passed to make it operative. The first Wednesday in February was designated for the electors of the respective States to assemble and cast their ballots for President and Vice-President of the new republic.

George Washington was the unanimous choice for President; and John Adams, receiving the next highest number of votes, was declared Vice-President. Connecticut cast two of her votes for her favorite son, Samuel Huntington. Connecticut's first electoral college consisted of Samuel Huntington, Erastus Wolcott, Oliver Wolcott, Thaddeus Burr, Richard Law, Jedediah Huntington, and Matthew Griswold.

The first Wednesday in March was named as the day on which Congress should convene. Connecticut selected her delegates to the Constitutional convention, Oliver Ellsworth and William Samuel Johnson, to represent her in the first Senate of the United States. On the opening day of the session, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania were the only States represented by a full delegation. A quorum was not obtained until the 6th of April. On the following day, in the formation of the body, Oliver Ellsworth was made chairman of a committee of eight members, to formulate a judicial system for the new nation. His legal lore and brain were exemplified in the organization of the National Judiciary, in which there has been no material change up to the present day.

Connecticut was assigned five representatives to the lower house of Congress. At their head was Roger Sherman; his colleagues were Jonathan Trumbull, Jonathan Sturges, Ben-

jamin Huntington, and Jeremiah Wadsworth. On the second day of the session of the House of Representatives, the entire Connecticut delegation was present, though a quorum of the body was not obtained until the first of the following month. The important matters first deliberated upon by that branch of the new government from which all appropriations were to originate, were the consideration of a substantial revenue, and the adjustment of the individual State debts against the general government.

It was on the 8th of April, 1788, that the first tariff bill was considered by a committee of the whole in the House of Representatives. Sherman, thinking it better to raise taxes on imports rather than impose direct taxation, advocated in debate a high duty on rum and other fermented and distilled liquors, and a protection for the iron industries. He was opposed to a high duty on tonnage, thinking it would cause foreign countries to retaliate on American shipping. His colleague, Mr. Wadsworth, who was dubbed the "Astor of Connecticut," differed from the New Haven members. He thought rum and other liquors should be favored with a low tariff, as they entered into the food supply of the American laboring classes; and too high a duty would prohibit their use. To this statement Sherman objected. He estimated, that by the tariff bill, then under consideration, the aggregate revenue would be two millions of dollars; this he judged insufficient to meet the wants of the government, and said he would "prefer a reduction on anything else rather than ardent spirits, the importation of which does not deserve encouragement from any part of the world." On the final passage of the bill, May 16, Roger Sherman again made an eloquent appeal for a high tariff, asserting it would be better for the welfare of the country than a direct taxation; and would also act as a stimulus,

by promoting the industry and economy of her citizens. The bill, however, was passed by a large majority; Roger Sherman, with seven other members of the House, voting in the negative.

The stability of the new government being firmly established by the provision of a permanent revenue, the momentous question then was, to determine the outstanding indebtedness of the republic. The Continental Congress never had a system of financial legislation. The funds for the prosecution of the Revolutionary War had been furnished largely by the different States, which had also received moneys from the central government, derived from foreign loans. The adjustment of these State claims was a perplexing problem for Congress to solve. Some of the States had suffered from war devastations, while others had been partially reimbursed by confiscation of loyalist estates and by territorial acquisitions. The State debts were estimated at about $25,000,000. Early in 1790 they became the subject of debates. The original creditors had parted with their certificates at a great discount, and there was a feeling amongst the national legislators that the domestic indebtedness should not be paid in full by the general government. The debts due the several States were very unequal. Those of Massachusetts and South Carolina amounted to more than $10,500,000. These differences in amounts caused invidious comparisons, much to the discredit of Congress.

The first proposition adopted in a committee of the whole of the House of Representatives, was for the general government to assume the entire debt. This was afterwards negatived by the seating of the representatives from North Carolina, and the subject was recommitted. Those in favor of assumption argued that in justice, as well as from policy,

the general government should assume the State indebtedness, since the debts were incurred for services rendered, supplies furnished, or loans made, not for a particular State, but for the benefit of the common cause of the Union; that while one State could discharge its indebtedness without its being burdensome, for another, equally meritorious but destitute of resources, it would be a hardship for its citizens. The debts had been contracted when the United States had but little if any credit; and as the Constitution transferred to Congress the principal funds that the States relied upon for liquidation, in justice the debts should follow the funds. It was also argued, that as the United States had exclusive power to lay imports, the individual States had no way of raising a revenue except by direct taxation on landed property. This, on account of the inequality of the debts, would make the taxes in the different States unequal, thereby causing jealousy and dissatisfaction, likewise emigration from one State to another, to obtain lower taxes; and would also encourage smuggling: while the consolidation of the debts would promote domestic industry and improvement throughout every part of the Union.

The opponents of assumption were no less decided in their opinion, that a general or a partial assuming of the debts was unjust and impolitic. They contended that a public debt was a public evil, and that the assumption of the obligations of the States would increase and perpetuate the evil; that the United States, and the individual States together, could liquidate the debts sooner than the former alone; that some of the States had paid a greater proportion of their debts than others, and it would be unjust to compel them to contribute towards the debts of the delinquents. They thought it would make State creditors more dependent on the general govern-

emnt, and would lessen the influence and importance of the States, and tend to consolidate the Union. The assumption of any of the State debts by the general government appeared to be hopeless, when the question of a permanent location for the National Capital came before Congress. The attitude taken, and help given in decision, by friends of the assumption, caused two of the members of the opposition to favor an amendment, that the general government should assume $21,000,000 of the State debts; this to be apportioned among the individual States. This was carried in the Senate by a majority of two; the House concurring with a majority of six. That these two important decisions were reached by a compromise does not tend to elevate, in the public mind, the standard of the early legislative bodies of the United States. Connecticut's apportionment of the sum was $1,600,000; the amount being exceeded by that allowed Massachusetts, South Carolina, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina. Connecticut's expenditures during the war were $9,285,737.-92; with the assumption of debt, and the sums advanced by the general government, there had been received $3,436,-244.92; making her expenditures, net, $5,849,493.

At the same session of Congress, a board of commissioners was appointed to make a final and conclusive settlement with the States. They reported in 1793, and the United States was found to be debtor to Connecticut for the sum of $619,121.

The adjustment of the balances due to and from the individual States is a matter of national history.

To strengthen the administration, and to recuperate his health, Washington in the fall of 1789 decided to make an extended tour of the New England States, with the exception of Rhode Island, which was not at that time a member of the Union. He left the city of New York, then the seat of gov-

ernment, on the morning of the 15th of October; journeying in his own carriage, accompanied by his secretaries, Mr. Lear and Major Jackson; and with four attendants on horseback. The presidential party was escorted to the outskirts of the city by Chief Justice Jay, and the Secretaries of War and Treasury; dinner was had at a tavern near King's Bridge, and the night was spent at a hostelry in Rye.

Resuming the journey at sunrise the following morning, the highways skirting Long Island Sound were traversed. Crossing the line into Connecticut, the party breakfasted at Stamford; the noon meal was taken at Norwalk, the night spent at Fairfield. Soon after the breakfast, the tour was resumed; after breakfasting at Stratford, where an attempt was made to receive the party with a military parade, the journey was continued, and New Haven reached in time for dinner. The General Assembly was in session at this place, and having been notified of the approach of the President and his party, a committee, escorted by the Governor's Guards, received the distinguished visitors at the entrance to the city. The remainder of the day was spent by General Washington in receiving visits from the executive officers of the State and the civil authorities of the city, and in replying to addresses from the Assembly and the resident Congregational clergy.

The next day being Sunday, Washington attended the morning service of the Episcopal Church; in the afternoon the Congregational church was visited. He entertained at dinner, given at a tavern kept by Mr. Brown, the State executives, the Mayor of New Haven, the Speaker of the House, Mr. Ingersoll, and General Jedidiah Huntington; in Washington's diary, this dinner is pronounced "good." During the evening, many officers of the disbanded Continental Army paid their respects to their late commander-in-chief.

At day dawn on Monday, the presidential party began its journey northwards. The first meal of the day was taken at Wallingford; passing through the village of Durham at about ten o'clock, Middletown was reached in time for dinner; leaving the latter town about the hour of three, a route was taken passing the town of Wethersfield. Here the party was met by a large number of citizens from Hartford, having as an escort the Governor's Guard, a company of light-horse soldiery in their elegant uniforms, commanded by Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth. The sun was just disappearing in the western horizon, when the city limits were reached. Washington and his party were supplied with quarters at Bull's tavern. The following day, accompanied by the Honorable Oliver Ellsworth, Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, and Colonel Jesse Root, the tourists visited the woolen factory, where General Washington ordered broadcloth for a suit of clothes for himself and a whole piece to make breeches for his servants. Various other points of interest were visited, and after partaking of dinner and tea at the residence of Colonel Wadsworth, the President held a public reception in the evening, for the citizens of Hartford.

The hospitable capital city was left the following morning for Springfield, Massachusetts; an hour *en route* being spent by the President at the residence of Oliver Ellsworth in Windsor. The Massachusetts authorities vied with those of her sister States in extending State and civic honors to the presidential party. Washington's journey from Springfield to Boston was like the triumphal procession of one of the ancient Roman Consuls. The metropolis of New England was reached in the middle of the week; the 28th of the month was passed in visiting the sailcloth and card manufactories of that city. He was given a reception, with all the honors

accorded the Supreme Magistrate of a Sovereign Nation, on the flagship of the French squadron in Boston harbor. The President arrived at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the eastern terminous of his tour, on the last day of October, and was entertained in a gala manner. On his return trip he reached Uxbridge, Massachusetts, on Saturday, Nov. 7. After breakfasting at Thompson, at a well-known house half way between Boston and Hartford, kept by one Jacobs, he proceeded to Pomfret.

It was the intention of Washington to pay a visit to his paralytic comrade-in-arms, Israel Putnam; but as it involved an extra journey of some six or eight miles, it was abandoned. We can picture in our minds the delight of that sturdy old hero, his eyes glistening with martial ardor, as he again beheld his old commander. It would seem that the Father of his Country might have so changed his plans as to enable him to visit this old patriot, who was so soon to be called to his eternal home. Possibly the mental condition of Putnam would have made the visit painful and of no comfort to either.

Leaving Pomfret, the party proceeded on its journey, stopping at Ashford. The following day was the Sabbath; and in deference to the established habits of Connecticut, the intolerable condition of the roads, and the horses requiring rest, the President decided to refrain from travel on that day. Accommodations were secured at Perkins' Hotel, which was stigmatized by General Washington as "not a good one." Adjacent to the tavern was a meeting-house, where the Reverend Enoch Pond officiated; the distinguished visitors attended both morning and evening service, but it would seem that Washington was not much impressed with the force of

From the original painting by Stuart, in Yale College.

D Humphreys

the religious discourses, for he criticises them in his diary as being "very lame."

The homeward journey was continued on Monday, breakfast being taken at a tavern in North Coventry, where one Brigham was the host. Hartford was reached at nightfall. On the following morning at about seven o'clock, the presidential party left Hartford, journeying through the town of Berlin, breakfast being served at Worthington; the horses were baited at Wallingford, and at sundown New Haven was reached. President Washington was anxious to reach the national capital, so on the following morning an early start was made. After breakfasting at Milford, the horses were refreshed at Fairfield, and the night spent at Major Marvin's, some nine miles west of the last stopping place. Stamford was designated as the place where breakfast would be served the following morning; it was the intention to reach New York that day, but owing to the lameness of the horses, the night was spent at Rye. The next day, the 13th of November, breakfast was taken at a tavern west of King's Bridge; between two and three o'clock in the afternoon the party arrived in New York, where the President was received with all the honors due his office. A Federal salute was fired from the Battery.

The first legislative act toward the abolishment of slavery in Connecticut was passed in 1771, when the importation of slaves was prohibited. There is nothing to prove that there were separate organized volunteer companies of negroes during the Revolutionary War, though some historians contend that General Humphrey accepted the command of a company of colored soldiers after several had refused the honor. Slaves were offered their freedom by their masters, if they would join the American army; that many accepted this

means of gaining their liberty is evidenced by the number of Revolutionary pensioners scattered throughout the State, after the war. The ceaseless agitation of the anti-slavery question by the clergy, coupled with the scarcity of labor for the white freemen and the poor remuneration for it, were the direct cause of the abolishing of human bondage. The legislature was petitioned as early as 1770 to emancipate the slaves, and a bill was drafted in 1780, but it was not passed until some four years later. The bill provided that no negro or mulatto child born after March 1, 1784, should be held as a slave after reaching the age of twenty-five. It also compelled slave owners to file a certificate of the births among their property; a failure to do so was subject to a fine of seven dollars for each delinquent month.

Connecticut was among the first of the thirteen original States to acknowledge anti-slavery sentiments. She was preceded by Massachusetts, who abolished the evil in 1780, and Pennsylvania, who began a gradual emancipation in the same year. There were more human beings held in servitude in Connecticut in 1790 than in all the other New England States combined; Rhode Island having 952 slaves, New Hampshire 158, and Vermont 17. Connecticut's slave population was 2,764, 1.17 per cent. of her total inhabitants. This was materially reduced in the next decade, as there were but 951, only 0.38 of her total population.

The emancipation law was amended in 1797, freeing at twenty-one all born in bondage after Aug. 1 in that year. The States of New Hampshire and Vermont contained only free population at the taking of the census in 1810; but there were slaves in Rhode Island and Connecticut in 1840. When in 1848 the latter abolished slavery forever in the State, there

were but six slaves to receive the benefit of the final emancipation act.

There was a peculiar custom, among the negroes of Connecticut, that began before the Revolution. The liberality of the democratic government of the Commonwealth may have been the cause of its foundation. The inauguration of the Governor was the occasion of great festivities at the capital; these included military parades, and the formation of a gay procession to hear the election sermon. This attracted people of distinction from all parts of the State, who were attended by their negro servants. The love of the black man for show and finery, joined with his instinctive power of imitation, led them to elect a Governor for themselves, who was chosen for his superior physical strength. He was eligible as a candidate, until failing health or old age warned him not to enter the list as a competitor. He was an absolute monarch, his will was law, there was no appeal from his decision. He was assisted in the discharge of his duties by a Lieutenant-Governor; this constituted the entire staff of the slave government. The first historical evidence there is of the existence of such a custom is the record of one Governor Cuff, who in 1766 resigned in favor of John Anderson, after having held the office ten years.

The inaugural ceremonies of the Black Governors were held at Hartford until 1800, when they were removed to Derby.

The first Governor from Derby was a native African named Quosh; he held the office a number of years. Juba Weston, a negro belonging to General Humphrey, was also an incumbent of the office. Governor Quosh's only son Roswell was one of the Governors, as well as Governor Weston's sons Nelson and Wilson; the latter being the last to hold the

office, which he did until within a few years of the late civil war.

The morning of election day was devoted to the selection of the Governor; when this was decided, the formalities of his induction into office took place. The negroes retired to the limits of the town, and formed a procession as an escort for their newly chosen chief; and marched through the principal streets. First came the Governor on horseback, accompanied by his body guard, uniformed, in all kinds of fantastic garbs, carrying swords and guns. There was shouting, laughing, singing and all kinds of clownish antics. The procession marched to the principal tavern, where the Governor was duly sworn in, after which he delivered an address; this was followed by a dinner and dance which continued until noon of the next day. There is a great difference to be observed in the notices for these gatherings: the early ones read "negro men"; while in those of later date, this is changed to "colored gentlemen."

CHAPTER XVII

Manufactures and Inventions

IT was with prophetic vision that the Connecticut delegates asserted, at the Constitutional Convention, that they represented a manufacturing State. The Revolution checked the internal development of the Commonwealth. This in manufactures had been confined to household weaving, fulling mills, bloomery forges, and the production of nails and small iron utensils. In fact, there was nothing in Connecticut, at the dawn of peace, to which the modern term "manufacture" could be applied. The State in 1787 had an estimated population of 202,000; and although by the method of hand weaving as high as 700 yards of cloth were made in one family in a year, and an overplus of nails and other iron products accumulated, this gave but a small surplus above the needs of home consumption. But it laid the foundation for the development from an agricultural to a manufacturing State, and the population was gradually transformed from tillers of the soil to the mechanics of the present day.

The exigencies of warfare had made a demand for munitions. The Assembly in every way encouraged the manufacture of implements and ammunition. This is evidenced by a close scrutiny of the colonial and State records. The legislatures were in favor of offering every inducement, by granting subsidies and rebating taxes, to encourage all enterprises tending towards making Connecticut a manufacturing centre. We quote a few instances from the many, as illustrations of the liberal propositions offered to prospective individual industries. Additional time was granted to Samuel Hall, in which to fulfil his contract for 200 guns at £36 each, which had been delayed by his apprentices having to perform militia duty. A number of citizens were granted a monopoly for the manufacture of glass; and John Shipman had the

exclusive right to operate a grist mill by tide-power. As early as 1775 the Assembly, by a money subsidy, encouraged Nathaniel Niles in his manufacture of wire, which was deemed necessary as an important adjunct to the production of woolen and cotton goods. The citizens of Branford were engaged in making salt, for which the Assembly paid £80 for 500 bushels.

One of the earliest manufacturing industries of Connecticut was that carried on about 1740, in what is now the town of Berlin. An Irishman named Patterson, by trade a tinner, began the manufacture of household utensils from tin, and retailed them from house to house in a basket. His trade increased, and wagons drawn by one, two, and four horses were substituted for the basket. The Yankee tin peddler finally traveled throughout New England, and even into the Southern climes and Western wilderness. The breaking out of the war prevented the obtaining of raw material; but at the close of hostilities the business was revived, and carried on successfully by young mechanics who had learned the trade from Patterson.

The most versatile mechanical genius during the Revolution was Abel Buell, a native of Killingworth. He was apprenticed to a gold and silver smith, and before he was twenty years of age was detected raising a five-shilling colonial note to five pounds. The notes were bound in book form, and when taken out, left a stub. The work of Buell was so ingenious that his crime was only detected by comparison with the stub. He was caught in the act, by the colonial official mounting a ladder and observing him through a window while he was at work. He was imprisoned at Norwich, and his forehead branded by the letter C. While in prison, he constructed a lapidary machine which is believed

to be the first used in this country. With this machine he produced a curious ring, which he presented to the king's attorney, and it eventually secured his pardon. Buell, after his release from prison, located in New Haven, and in 1770, with the assitance of Amos Doolittle, engraved and published the first map made in America. His ingenuity was utilized, during the Revolution, in establishing a type foundry in New Haven, and in coining coppers for the State; he having constructed a machine that could produce 120 in a minute. At the close of the war, he visited England, to gain knowledge of the machinery used in the manufacture of cloths. On his return to this country, with a Scotchman named McIntosh, they erected the first cotton factory in America. The enterprise was a failure, however, and it was not until 1794 that a successful manufacture of this staple product was established in Connecticut. In that year, Samuel Pitkin & Co. at Manchester began to manufacture in considerable quantities, velvets, corduroys, and fustians. The only other cotton mill in operation at this time was at Providence, Rhode Island; but a mill was afterwards erected at Paterson, New Jersey. There was but little progress made in cotton manufacturing until after the beginning of the nineteenth century.

An important invention, for the development of the manufacturing interests of Connecticut, was made in 1784 by Ebenezer Chittenden, who was the possessor of wonderful mechanical genius. While a resident of New Haven, he perfected a machine for bending and cutting card teeth. The machine was worked by a mandrel twelve inches in length and one inch in diameter, and was run by a band wheel turned by a crank. It required six independent parts of the machine to make a complete tooth; this was accomplished by one revolution of the wheel. The capacity of the machine

was sufficient to supply all the manufacturers in New England; its complement being 36,000 teeth an hour. Mr. Chittenden was of a frank, ingenuous disposition, and communicated his knowledge to a party who went to England and secured a patent, claiming to be the original inventor.

The most ambitious attempt to manufacture cloths was made at Hartford in 1788, when a company with a capital stock of £1,250, divided between thirty-one stockholders, was incorporated. The State, to encourage the enterprise, abated the taxes for five years. The year after their incorporation, the company placed on sale their product, a dark-brown cloth. At the first Presidential inauguration, the President, Vice-President, and many of the attendants were robed in Connecticut broadcloth. The mill made other mixtures, among which was the famous pepper-and-salt; the cloth retailed at from two dollars and a half to five dollars a yard. The first annual production was over 10,000 yards. The mill suspended operations in 1794, as it could not be made profitable.

The silk industries were encouraged by the legislature, which offered a bounty on the raising of mulberry trees, and for raw silk. The State government had distributed half an ounce of mulberry seed to each parish. The Connecticut Silk Society was incorporated in 1785, with its headquarters at New Haven. Its object was the encouragement of silk culture and manufacture throughout the State. The banner town for silk industries was Mansfield; her inhabitants in 1793 received a bounty on 265 pounds of raw silk. This town was prolific in early inventors. One of them made a buzz-saw for cutting the teeth of horn combs; another, a screw auger; while steelyards and spectacles were manufactured there at an early date.

Connecticut has become famous for clocks, which have

announced the time of day throughout the civilized world; yet it is only a little over a century since Eli Terry first constructed in Plymouth the old-fashioned wooden wall clock. The wheels and teeth were made by hand; marked out first with a square and compass, then sawed with a fine saw. The movements alone, at this early day, cost £25. The first self-winding clock was the product of the brain of Benjamin Hanks of Litchfield; who invented an ingenious attachment which operated by the means of air.

The steam carriages of the twentieth century would not cause much excitement among the fathers of the Revolution, if they should revisit their old haunts. At the close of the eighteenth century, Dr. Apollos Kinsley traveled the highways of Hartford in one of the first steam carriages ever constructed; of which he was the inventor. The doctor was an eccentric but ingenious personage. He patented a brick-pressing machine, which greatly aided that industry. His machine for making pins was not a success; but he perfected a card machine which was operated by dog power. In 1798, Eli Whitney, the inventor of the cotton gin, established a manufactory at Hamden to complete a contract he had with the United States government to furnish them with 10,000 stand of arms. Several contracts were let at the same time, but Whitney was the only contractor who did not lose money. His success was due to his wonderful mechanical genius, by which he was able to reduce the production to a simple process.

There were, at the close of the eighteenth century, linen and button manufactories at New Haven; glass works, snuff and powder mills, a duck manufactory, besides various iron works, at Hartford. Iron foundries were scattered over the State: one at Stafford manufactured hollow ware enough to supply

the demands of the Commonwealth. Paper was made in a number of different localities. The manufacture of tin ware had so increased that $250,000 worth of raw material was used annually. Large quantities of metal buttons were made at Waterbury: ironmongery, nails, hats, candles, leather boots and shoes, were produced throughout the State.

Connecticut's exports consisted of live stock, lumber, dairy products, cereals, fish, leather, candles, pot and pearl ashes. There were five ports of entry, and the value of the exportations amounted to about one million and a half of dollars annually; her commerce was chiefly with her sister States and the West Indies. Vessels aggregating about 33,000 tonnage were owned and employed in her merchant marine service.

The manufacturing and commercial interests of the State demanded the establishment of money exchanges for the transaction of business. Between 1781 and 1784, State banks had been organized in the three leading commercial centres of the United States. The establishment of a bank at Providence, Rhode Island, in 1791, caused the question to be agitated through the newspapers, in the early part of 1792, as to the feasibility and local needs of a bank at Hartford. At about the same time, the monetary situation was under discussion by the citizens of New London. In 1792, the May session of the General Assembly chartered the Union Bank of New London and the Hartford Bank of Hartford. The former consummated its organization, and was ready for business, prior to the Hartford Bank, which opened its doors to the public Aug. 8, 1792. The same year, a bank was chartered in New Haven, but there was some difficulty in obtaining subscriptions to its capital stock; this was finally reduced, and the bank began business in October, 1795. In

that year, articles of incorporation were granted for a bank at Middletown; but its organization was not completed until the early part of the nineteenth century. The granting of a bank charter to the citizens of Norwich in 1796, and the opening of a financial institution in that city in the same year, completed the banking facilities of the State at the close of the century.

The unsuccessful attempts of Jonathan Hulls in England to apply steam to navigation, were supplemented in the United States by a son of Connecticut, whose memorial tablet adorns the rotunda of the Capitol of his native State. John Fitch, who first utilized steam as a marine motive power, was born in what is now East Windsor, Jan. 21, 1743. He was apprenticed to learn the clock and watch trade; but having contracted an unhappy marriage, before the breaking out of the Revolutionary War he removed to New Brunswick, New Jersey. He remained in that State, following his trade, until the occupancy of the territory by the British caused him to emigrate to the interior of Pennsylvania.

It was practically at the same time that two American inventors, without any previous knowledge of a steam engine, began experiments to propel a vessel by the force of condensed steam. There had been, a decade before this, various trials on the river Seine; but though the Marquis de Jouffroy constructed a steamboat of considerable size, it was deficient in power. James Ramsey had exhibited on the Potomac River, in 1784, a boat propelled by machinery; and two years later, a pump worked by steam power drove a stream of water from the stern, and thus furnished motive power. His death occurred while he was preparing himself for other experiments.

It was in the village of Neshaminy near Philadelphia, in

1785, that John Fitch built a model of his paddle-wheel boat. The inventor sought the aid of Congress, but his appeal was rejected, and termed the dream of a hare-brained mechanic. Obtaining from New Jersey the right to navigate her streams, and receiving pecuniary help from Philadelphia, Fitch completed, in the summer of 1786, a boat that attained the speed of seven miles an hour. A more ambitious attempt was completed the following summer, the boat being forty-five feet in length; the first successful trial of a steamboat took place on the Delaware River, Aug. 23, 1787. The following year a patent was obtained, and in the summer a new steamboat appeared, with a tubular boiler, and three paddles on its stern. On the trial trip on the Delaware, near Burlington, New Jersey, a boiler pipe burst; the boat was abandoned and drifted back to Philadelphia. She was afterwards repaired, and run regularly between Philadelphia and Trenton; her maximum rate of speed was about eight miles an hour. These trips encountered various disasters, which caused a feeling of suspicion amongst the public; so the enterprise was abandoned.

At the request of one of the stockholders of the steamboat company, Fitch visited France to introduce his invention in that country. It was during the French Revolution; receiving no encouragement, he returned to his native land, leaving his drawings and specifications in the keeping of the gentleman who requested him to visit the country. This was unfortunate for Fitch, as the party was the United States consul at L'Orient. He showed them to Robert Fulton, who was at that time experimenting in France. Discouraged and disheartened, Fitch on his return to America moved West, where, after passing a few years in obscurity, he died on July 2, 1798.

An invention that gained a world-wide reputation, and received the indorsement of prominent professional men, was that of Elisha Perkins, who patented in 1796 his metallic tractors. They were about three inches in length, one resembling brass, the other steel; but it was claimed that they were made from a peculiar composition. They were used to cure local inflammation, pain in the face and head, and in rheumatic, neuralgic, and similar diseases. An application was made to the afflicted parts, and the tractors were allowed to remain twenty minutes, drawing downwards. This system of treatment became known as Perkinsism, and met with practical use among the medical fraternity of Europe and America. It was alleged that thousands of patients received permanent relief from it; it was made the subject of medical works favoring its use, among which was a report of the medical staff of the Royal Frederick Hospital of Copenhagen, Denmark. Early in the nineteenth century it was discovered that the materials used in the construction of the tractors were iron and brass; the physicians began to doubt the efficacy of the remedy, and its use was largely discontinued. It is probable that many patients were benefited by the mechanical stimulus given to the afflicted parts, which was similar, though of less power, to the manual rubbing and kneading so universally practiced at the present day. Still more perhaps was due to the mental excitation directed to the nerves of these parts.

Dr. Perkins was a native of Norwich, where he was born Jan. 16, 1741. During an epidemic of yellow fever, while engaged in demonstrating a remedy for it, he contracted the disease,and died in New York City, Sept. 6, 1799.

There were many other inventions, the outgrowth of the fertile brain of the Connecticut Yankee. The envious flings

at the alleged fraudulent inventions have been dealt with elsewhere.

CHAPTER XVIII

Court, County, and Township Organizations

THE organization of Middlesex County in 1785, from Hartford, New London, and New Haven counties, and in the following year, of Toland County, from Windham and Hartford counties, completed the civil division of the State by counties. At the January session of the legislature in 1784, New Haven and New London were incorporated as cities; at the following May session, Hartford, Middletown, and Norwich became municipalities. There were numerous changes in the constitution of the courts in 1784; the office of Judge of the Superior Court was deemed incompatible with a seat in the General Assembly, or in either branch of Congress.

The docket of the Superior Court had assumed such proportions, that in order to relieve the legal business of the State, a new court was instituted, to be known as the Supreme Court of Errors; it was to consist of the Deputy Governor and Council, and sessions were to be held annually, at Hartford and New Haven alternately. The Secretary of State was ex-officio clerk of this court; in 1793 the governor was added as a member. The court thus established was to be the resort of all matters brought by error or complaint from the judgment or decree of the Superior Court, in matters wherein it was found that the rules of law and principles of equity had been erroneously adjudged; the decrees of this Superior Court of Errors were to be final and conclusive to all concerned. There was a marked change in the membership of the court in 1806. The Council, or what is now the State Senate, was not generally composed of men versed in law; therefore on final decisions the best legal results were not obtained. The Superior Court sessions had been changed in 1801; they were to hold a winter and summer term in each

county, and their membership was increased to six. To restore the standard of the Supreme Court of Errors as a court of last resort, the judges of the Superior Court, of whom five were to constitute a quorum, were substituted for members of the Council. The Superior Court membership was increased to eight members and a chief justice. There were no other changes in the formation of the courts of the State, until the adoption of the Constitution of 1818.

The military affairs of the Revolution so engaged the attention of the people of Connecticut that there was but little accomplished in the organization of towns. The legislature in 1779 incorporated the town of Barkhamsted. The territory had been granted in 1732 to the citizens of Windsor; the first settlement was made ten years later, and increased slowly, there being but twenty families within its limits as late as 1771. The adjoining town of Colebrook was settled in the winter of 1765-66, and incorporated with town privileges in 1779. The town of Southington was originally included in Farmington; it was divided among eighty-four proprietors in 1722. Five years later an ecclesiastical society was established there; by an act of legislature, in 1779, it was granted township rights.

Washington was formerly a part of the towns of Woodbury, Litchfield, Kent, and New Milford; the first settlement within its limits was made in 1734. It was one of the four towns incorporated by the legislature, at its session held in 1779. A religious society was organized in 1741, and given the name of Judson. Cheshire was originally a parish in the town of Wallingford. As early as 1723, a society was organized consisting of thirty-four families; it was erected into a town in 1780. In the same year, township privileges were granted to Watertown, which was formerly a parish of

Waterbury. The first town to be incorporated after the war was East Hartford, in 1783; it was that part of the town of Hartford on the east bank of the Connecticut River. The following year the parish of Amity, which had been settled since 1739, and was a part of the towns of New Haven and Milford, was erected into a township and named Woodbridge. The year 1785 saw four towns added to the township organizations of Connecticut. Berlin, under the name of Kensington, was organized in 1712 with a congregation of ten families, as the second society of Farmington. There had been subdivisions of the church made in 1753 and 1772. The territorial limits of the town were formerly in the confines of Farmington, Wethersfield, and Middletown. Bristol was the parish of New Cambridge, in the town of Farmington, and in 1747 became an independent society. East Haven was originally a part of New Haven. Thompson had been settled since 1715; later a church society was established, and known as Thompson's parish; it was within the limits of the town of Killingly.

Eleven new towns were incorporated in 1786. Bozrah was originally a part of Norwich, Brooklyn was formed from Pomfret and Canterbury; Ellington formerly belonged to East Windsor; Franklin was taken from Norwich, Granby from Simsbury, and Hamden from New Haven. There was an ecclesiastical society in Hampton since 1723, which consisted originally of seventeen families, taken from the towns of Windham, Pomfret, Brooklyn, Canterbury, and Mansfield. Lisbon was originally a part of Norwich; North Haven was taken from New Haven, and Montville from New London; and Warren was formerly a part of Kent. Bethlehem, a part of the town of Woodbury, was incorporated as a town in 1787; the same year a portion of Wood-

bury, that had been settled since 1672, was erected into a town and given the name of Southbury. The parishes of Northfield and North Fairfield, in the town of Fairfield, were incorporated as a town in 1787, under the name of Weston. In the western part of the State in 1788, from New Milford, Danbury, and Newtown, the town of Brookfield was formed. Though there had been a church society established since 1724, and an Episcopal church since 1741, in the northern part of Stratford, it was not organized as a town until 1789; it was given the name of Huntington.

In the last decade of the eighteenth century, six new towns were incorporated: Sterling, a part of Voluntown, was separated in 1794. The year following, Plymouth, which had been an independent parish since 1739 under the name of Northbury, was taken from Watertown and invested with town privileges. Wolcott, originally known as Farmingbury, was taken from Waterbury and Southington in 1796. Trumbull, a portion of Stratford, was incorporated as a town in 1797. Two towns were created in 1798,—Oxford, taken from Derby and Southbury, and Roxbury, which was a part of Woodbury.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Connecticut was divided into eight counties and one hundred and seven townships.

CHAPTER XIX

Ecclesiastical Societies at the End of the Eighteenth Century

AT the close of the Revolutionary conflict, nine-tenths of the people of Connecticut, were either communicants of the Congregationalist faith, or attended religious worship in churches of that denomination. The Baptists were the first religious sect to organize in the colony a congregation which was opposed to the established Church; this was in 1705. These seceders from the Church of their forefathers, were located in the eastern part of the colony, adjacent to Rhode Island, which was the stronghold of Antipædobaptists in America. The Reverend Valentine Wightman removed from South Kingston in that province, to Groton, where he organized a Baptist society; he was in charge of the congregation forty-two years, and at his death he was succeeded by his son, Timothy Wightman, who officiated forty years, and was also succeeded by his son, John G. Wightman, who held the position until his death in 1841; making one hundred and thirty-six years, during which the three generations of Wightmans had charge of the spiritual welfare of the first Baptist society in Connecticut.

It was a score of years after the establishment of the first Baptist church, that another was started, in the adjoining town of New London; and in 1743 a society was organized in what is now North Stonington. The growth of this religious denomination in Connecticut was slow; at the end of the eighteenth century it had not over twenty churches in the State.

The greatest withdrawals from the ranks of the Congregationalists were caused by the opposers of the Saybrook Platform; the disciples of the Separate churches, as they were called, insisted on an open confession of faith, with a public recital of religious experiences, and the right to choose

and ordain their own officers; they were strongly in favor of clear evidence of regeneration, and the right of every member of the church to exercise the gifts God had bestowed upon him for the edification of his brethren. Their first church was established at Canterbury; and there were several other congregations scattered throughout the colony, though they never numbered over thirty societies, some of which were fully organized while others were only gatherings of people, assembling together for religious fellowship. The broadening of the religious and governmental principles of the Congregational churches in the latter part of the century, led some of these seceders to unite again with their former associates; while others joined themselves to Baptist societies.

Voluntown had a Presbyterian church in the first part of the eighteenth century, which was under the charge of the same pastor for nearly fifty years; at his death it was reorganized on Congregational principles. There was also a society at South Mansfield, which was nominally Presbyterian, but practically Congregational.

The seeds of Methodism were sown in Connecticut in 1787, by two of their ministers; and two years later, Rev. Jesse Lee made an itinerant tour of three months throughout the State, preaching in its principal places. The first society of Methodists was founded at Stratford, in September 1789, and consisted of three women; the next, at Redding, numbered two persons; the first church edifice was erected at Weston, and was called Lee's chapel. The circuits of New Haven, Hartford, and Litchfield, were established in 1790; at this time there were only four Methodist clergymen in New England; three years later, when George Roberts took charge of Methodism in Connecticut, his district included nearly the whole of the State, besides portions of Rhode

Island and Vermont. The sect grew slowly in the State; at the end of the century, churches were built in Middletown, New London, New Haven, and Norwich.

The doctrines of Unitarianism began to make their appearance in New England in the last decade of the eighteenth century. The Rev. Stanley Griswold, who accepted the charge of a church in New Milford, soon after his ordination, manifested religious sentiments that were not in harmony with those of his orthodox brethren, and invited to his communion table all of his congregation, whether they had been admitted communicants or not. He was the first apostle of Unitarianism in Connecticut, but was soon afterwards joined by Rev. Whitfield Cowles, who labored at Granby, Rev. John Sherman, who had charge of a society at Mansfield, and Rev. Henry Channing, who was pastor at New London. No Congregational church in the State, and but one Society, ever became Unitarian; one in Torrington, and another in Middletown, became Separates; both of these, however, reverted to their original connection.

The early efforts of the Episcopalians, have been already chronicled in this work; they numbered in 1750 about twenty-five societies, widely scattered throughout the colony; the excitement caused by religious revivals made converts for them, which increased the number of their societies to forty; but during the war their membership decreased; owing to the fact that they were stigmatized as Tories. After the declaration of peace, many withdrew to the British provinces. That they might have a full organization to strengthen Episcopacy in this country, it was deemed necessary that the Church should have resident authoritative head; yielding to the solicitations of friends, and members of the church, Rev. Samuel Seabury was chosen in March 1783, to go to

England, and ask for consecration as a bishop. He was the son of a Congregationalist minister; was born at Groton, November 30th, 1729; not long after graduating from Yale in 1748, he proceeded to Scotland, and devoted a year to the study of medicine; and when twenty-four years of age, he was ordained in London in 1753, a minister of the Church of England. Returning to his native land, he first settled at New Brunswick in New Jersey, and afterwards at Jamaica, Long Island; early in the commencement of hostilities with the British, we find him at Westchester, New York, where he had resided for ten years.

Mr. Seabury was suspected of toryism, and of being a Tory pamphleteer; he was seized by a party of patriot horsemen, returning from the destruction of Rivington's Press, and taken prisoner to New Haven; but the charges were not proven, and upon his discharge he went to New York, where he made his residence during the British occupancy of the city. Owing to his inability to take the oath of allegiance to the British government, the English prelates could not legally consecrate him; he then proceeded to Scotland, where at Aberdeen, on November 14th, 1784, he was consecrated the first bishop of the American Episcopal Church. The Scottish bishops were non-jurors, having refused to take the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, as they considered the deposition of James II. illegal; and the Scottish Episcopal church was not established by law. Bishop Seabury on his return to this country, was chosen rector of St. James's church, New London; he assisted Bishop White in revising the Prayer-book, and preparing a constitution for the American Episcopal Church, which was adopted in 1789. He died at New London, February 25th, 1798; his body lies beneath the chancel of the new St. James's church in that city.

SAMUEL SEABURY, D.D.

Bishop Seabury was succeeded in the episcopate by Rev. Abraham Jarvis, D. D., rector of Christ Church in Middletown; he held an influential position and did an important work in the early history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Connecticut.

There were, in 1800, sixty-two Episcopal parishes in the State; an increase of thirty-seven during the preceding fifty years; the clergy numbered seventeen, and the communicants about fifteen hundred.

Connecticut in the eighteenth century had her religious atmosphere disturbed by the formation of several sects, the followers of "inspired" preachers or exhorters; the most obnoxious of these, were the Rogerenes, or as they were sometimes called Rogerene Quakers, or Rogerene Baptists. This agitation began in the second half of the seventeenth century; the leaders were a family by the name of Rogers, residents of New London; the origin of their dissent from the Congregationalist church was their free intercourse with the Sabbatarians of Rhode Island. John Rogers, the founder of the sect, maintained that there were three religious ordinances; baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the imposition of hands; they rejected the Sabbath, and held that all days were sanctified; they had no houses of worship, and abhored all ministerial trappings. Their prayers were mental, excepting on special occasions, when they indulged in vocal demonstrations; they were willing to pay county and town taxes, but repudiated the ministerial tax rate. It was charged against them that they violated the Lord's Day in every possible way; insulted magistrates and ministers, and trampled all laws, divine and human, under foot. It is claimed they appeared in a nude state, or nearly so, at public gatherings and assemblies, especially on the Sabbath, and interrupted

the services in every conceivable manner; when corrected, they reviled the courts, and defied the authorities; they courted arrest and imprisonment, to enable them to pose as religious martyrs.

The Rogerenes, like some persons in the present day, employed no physicians, and used no drugs; one of their sect wrote and published a book, the title of which was, "Battle Life;" it was suppressed by the authorities. At the death of the founder, the Rogerenes gradually died out; but after having lain dormant for thirty years, an attempt was made by a grandson of the founder, another John Rogers, to revive the sect in 1764. They began to make public demonstrations against practice of what they called "idolatries"; there was a series of provocations on one side, and retaliating punishments on the other, which were vehemently carried on for about a year and a half; the Rogerenes were publicly whipped, fined, imprisoned, and tarred and feathered.

The doctrines of the Sandemanians, were promulgated in America, by Robert Sandeman, a Scotchman, who became interested while in his native country, in the Glassites, or followers of John Glas; the creed of this sect, was an independent government of the church, without any national supervision, which they held to be inconsistent with the true nature of the Church of Christ, and salvation by simple faith alone. Sandeman, imbued with these religious beliefs, went to England, where he founded societies, which became known as Sandemanians, after their projector; he came to America in 1764, and after establishing a society in Boston, the following year went to Danbury, where he organized another. Sandeman was a man of learning and superior ability; his favorite expression was, "a bare belief of a bare truth"; he died at Danbury, April 2d, 1771. The next year his followers

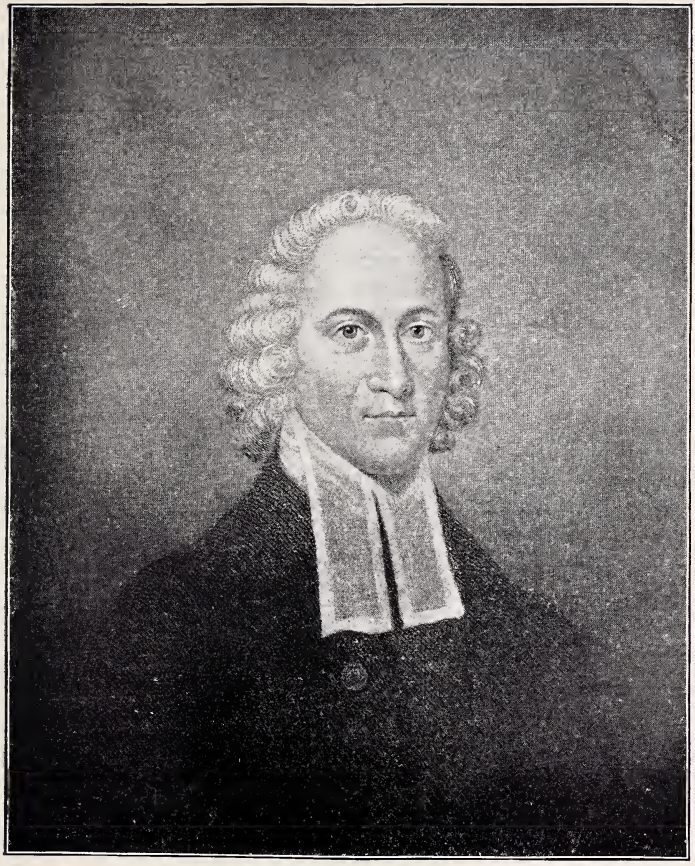
removed to New Haven, where the society flourished for a few years; but at the breaking out of the war, the members, being non-combatants, were regarded as Tories and became objects of suspicion; they were brought before the civil authorities, and sentenced to imprisonment; the congregation was dispersed. A new society was formed in 1774, which was afterwards divided; one part became known as Osbornites, from their leader Levi Osborn; the other, bore the name of Baptist Sandemanians, from their belief in and practice of baptism by immersion; the former was the larger body, and at one time numbered four hundred followers. Their religious meetings were held on Sunday and Thursday afternoons; their churches were provided with large circular tables, around which they sat, each person being provided with a copy of the Scriptures, which they read, and upon which the men commented, the women remaining silent; they were oblivious to spectators. Singing and prayers completed the exercises; after which they assembled at the house of a brother or sister, and partook of a feast; the sect gradually became extinct.

Connecticut was thrice visited, during the year 1780, by Mother Ann Lee, an exponent of Shakerism; on her first two visits, she was subjected to the indignities of a mob attack; but she succeeded in interesting some of the inhabitants of Enfield, in her peculiar doctrines; a society of Shakers was organized in the following year, and a "family" was located in the northeastern part of that town. Amongst the first adherents of Shakerism, was Elder Joseph Meacham, a Baptist preacher; he afterwards became one of the heads of the society. At the close of the eighteenth century, there were a few Quaker families residing in Pomfret; they built a

house of prayer, but the congregation long since became extinct.

Among the forms of theological doctrines, which had influence at this time, was that taught by Rev. Samuel Hopkins, which from him received the name of Hopkinsianism. It was an extreme form of Calvinism, and was held by many ministers and members of Congregational churches. Their fundamental principles were, that all virtue and true holiness consisted in disinterested benevolence, and that all sin, was selfishness; that the self love, which men gave to their own external interests, was sinful. The founder was remarkable for his simplicity, earnestness, and presevering industry; his tenets, were a source of controversy, for over a century.

He was born in Waterbury, September 17th, 1721; he was engaged in agricultural pursuits, until his fifteenth year; he graduated from Yale College in 1741, and became so impressed with the preaching of Whitefield and Tennant, that he lived in seclusion for several months, to determine if he was a Christian. Having satisfied himself on this point, he was licensed to preach, but continued his studies, under Rev. Jonathan Edwards; he was an itinerant preacher for a short time, but in the winter of 1743 was settled over a society at what is now Great Barrington, Massachusetts, where he remained for twenty-five years, when he was dismissed, on account of the diminution in the membership of the church. His next charge was at Newport, Rhode Island; but his flock being dispersed by the British occupation of the city during the Revolution, he preached at different points; in 1780 he returned to Newport, where he resided until his death, December 20, 1803. In his latter years, he had a precarious living, owing to the loss of membership in his congregation. Dr. Hopkins was one of the founders of the Ameri-



Jonathan Edwards

can Colonization Society, and was a bitter opponent of slave traffic; he is believed to be the hero of Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe's novel, "The Minister's Wooing." His complete works were published in 1805.

The efforts of the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, in the education of the aborigines, and their conversion to Christianity, resulted in a number of the sons of Connecticut becoming engaged in missionary work amongst the Indians; of these, there was one whose reputation as an acute metaphysician, and sound theologian became world-wide.

Jonathan Edwards, the son of Reverend Timothy Edwards, was born in what is now East Windsor, October 5, 1703. He was a member of Yale's class of 1720, and after his graduation spent two years at that institution, studying theology. His first charge was a small congregation of English Presbyterians in New York; but he remained in that city only a few months, returning to his Alma Mater, and serving as tutor for two years. His pastorate over a society in Northampton, Massachusetts, was terminated in 1750, on account of his persistent efforts, to reprove the younger members of his flock; they were of the wealthiest and most influential families in his congregation, and became incensed at their pastor's endeavors; the result was his dismissal. For the next six years, he was missionary amongst the Stockbridge Indians, where he produced his most famous theological work, "The Freedom of the Will," which was published in 1758, and circulated throughout Europe. Dr. Edwards reluctantly accepted the presidency of the college of New Jersey in 1758; on March 22d of that year, he died at Princeton of small pox, which was prevailing at the college. His published theological writings are numerous, and rank among the most valuable contributions to religious literature.

One who early sacrificed his life in the conversion of his Indian brethren, was David Brainard. He was descended from a servitor in the Wyllys family at Hartford, and became one of the first settlers of Haddam. He was born in East Haddam, April 20, 1718; entered Yale College in 1739; from which he was expelled in 1743, for disobeying orders in attending the meetings of Whitefield and Tennant, and for doubting the Christianity of one of his tutors. The same year he began his duties as a missionary, laboring among the Indians in the vicinity of Kinderhook, New York; he extended his work among the Delawares, and a tribe near Crosswicks, New Jersey. Overcome by his arduous labors, he traveled in New England, to regain his health, but died at the Rev. Jonathan Edwards's home, in Northampton, Massachusetts, October 9th, 1747.

Among the pupils of Dr. Wheelock's Indian school, who prepared themselves for missionary work, was Samuel Kirkland; he was born at Norwich, December 1st, 1741, of Scottish ancestry; he spent two years at the college of New Jersey, and before completing his education dwelt with the Seneca Indians. He received his collegiate degree in 1765, and the following year was made an Indian missionary; his work was amongst the Oneidas; it was through his instrumentality, that this tribe (the only one of the Six Nations) remained loyal to the American cause. He died at Clinton, New York, February 28, 1808; Hamilton College is an outgrowth of an institution of learning established by him in 1793.

James Deane was a youthful missionary, who at the age of twelve mastered the language of the Oneidas, and made many converts; he was born at Groton August 20, 1748, and was a graduate of Dartmouth College. Congress employed

him to conciliate the Indians on the northern frontier; he was made Indian agent, and stationed at Fort Stanwix, with the rank of major; after the Revolutionary war he became a judge in Oneida county and a member of the New York assembly. Major Deane was the author of an Indian mythology; he died at Westmoreland, New York, September 10, 1823.

The successor of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, as missionary to the Stockbridge Indians, was Stephen Westcott, born in Tolland, November 13, 1735; he was the author of many religious works, and died at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, May 15, 1819.

The patriarch of the New England Clergy, was Samuel Nott, born in Saybrook in 1754; he graduated from Yale College, and was ordained pastor of the Congregational church at Franklin March 13, 1782; he had pastoral charge of this congregation until his death (occasioned by a fall), January 23, 1854.

Connecticut's sons have furnished history with two other notable cases of longevity, in continuous service, as Congregational pastors. Benjamin Trumbull was born at Hebron in 1735, and after graduating from Yale in 1757, he accepted the charge of a congregation in that part of New Haven now known as North Haven, in 1760; where he continued until his death, February 2, 1820. Doctor Trumbull resided in one house over half a century; he wrote over four thousand sermons, and published religious essays, a History of Connecticut, and a History of the United States, besides other works.

John Lanthrop was born in Norwich, October 20, 1731; he graduated from Yale College in 1754; was ordained in 1756, and made pastor of a Congregationalist church at

West Springfield, Massachusetts, where he remained sixty-four years; he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from his Alma Mater in 1791 and from Harvard College in 1811. He was also elected a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; his sermons accompanied by an autobiography were published in seven volumes. He died at West Springfield, December 31, 1820. With these should be mentioned Rev. Richard Mansfield, D.D., an Episcopal clergyman, who was rector of St. James's church, Derby, for seventy-two years, from 1748 to 1820.

Prominent among the early educators, was Joseph Bellamy, a native of Cheshire; as a theological instructor, his style was plain, and his manner impressive; he held high rank as a preacher among his contemporaries, and inaugurated the first Sunday-school in the world. He died at Bethlehem, March 6, 1790.

Elizur Goodrich was born in that part of Wethersfield now known as Rocky Hill, October 26, 1734; he served as a tutor for two years after graduating from Yale college; he was ordained as a Congregationalist minister in 1756, and settled over a church at Durham, where he remained for more than forty years, and was instrumental in educating three hundred young men. He was an intense patriot, and advised his people to lay down their lives and property in the American conflict. He died at Norfolk, November 22, 1797.

The authorship of Joseph Smith's book on Mormonism, is attributed to the Rev. Solomon Spaulding, a native of Ashford, where he was born in 1761; he was a soldier of the Revolution. He began the study of law, and in 1785 graduated from Dartmouth college; he afterwards studied for the ministry, and preached ten years in New England; but

finally emigrated to the West, and engaged in mercantile business. While a resident of New Salem, now Conneaut, Ohio, he wrote a romance, entitled "Manuscript Found"; it pretended to be a transcript of a manuscript found in an ancient mound, giving an account of the customs, manners, and warlike conflicts of the original people of this continent; the author vainly attempted to get the work published. After his death, at Amity, Pennsylvania, October 20, 1816, it has been alleged that a follower of Joseph Smith stole the manuscript from a printing establishment in Pittsburg, where he was employed.

Rev. John Buckley, a casuist and sage, son of the author of "Will and Doom," published a treatise in 1724, which attracted universal attention; in it the theory was advanced, that aborigines had no right or claim to any lands but those they subdued by their own hands; and that the English had perfect right to occupy any lands without compensating the natives.

Manasseh Cutler was born at Killingly May 3, 1742; after his graduation from Yale in 1765, he studied theology, and was ordained in 1771, and placed in charge of a society at Hamilton, Massachusetts. He became identified with the settlement of the Northwestern territory, and was one of the founders of Marietta, Ohio. On his return to New England, he continued his pastoral duties at Hamilton until his death, July 28, 1823. The first scientific description of the plants of New England was the result of his botanical researches.

The first colored preacher of any prominence in Connecticut was Lemuel Haynes; he was born in what is now West Hartford, July 18th, 1753; and abandoned by his white mother. He volunteered in the American Army, and was with the expedition against Ticonderoga; returning from

the war he became engaged in farming; he made himself proficient in Latin and Greek, having no light by which to study, except that of the fire. He was ordained minister in 1785, and settled at Rutland, Vermont, where he preached thirty years. He died September 28, 1833.

CHAPTER XX

Arts and Literature in the Eighteenth Century

THE art of printing was first introduced into Connecticut by Thomas Short, at New London, in the year 1709; he published the Saybrook Platform in 1710. This was the only printing press in the country for forty-five years; Mr. Short died about two years after its establishment.

The colonial laws were in manuscript; the Assembly decided to revise and print them, and the Governor and Council were requested to procure a printer, to settle within the limits of the colony. Negotiations were entered into with Timothy Green, a descendant of Samuel Green, who was the first printer in North America; the Assembly agreed with Mr. Green that he should be the colony's printer, and receive fifty pounds annually for printing the election sermons, proclamations for Fast and Thanksgiving days, and the laws enacted at each session. Mr. Green located at New London in 1714, and he and his descendants were printers for the colony and the State until after the Revolutionary War.

The advent of the printing press turned the attention of the literary minds of the colony towards journalism. Connecticut was late in entering the newspaper field; in six of the colonies weekly papers were already in circulation, when on Jan. 1, 1755, James Parker & Co. began the publication of the "Connecticut Gazette" at New Haven. This pioneer of Connecticut journalism was a four-page, two-column weekly sheet, ten and a quarter inches in length and fifteen and a half in breadth. The subscription price was two and a half shillings a quarter, postage prepaid. Three years afterwards a second paper was established in the colony; Timothy Green, on Aug. 8, 1758, issued the "New London Summary" or "Weekly Advertiser," a two-column folio sheet, twelve by eight inches, printed on paper manufactured at Norwich.

Editor Green, in connection with his printing plant, carried on the business of bookbinding, and copperplate printing. These two early journalistic ventures were short-lived. The "Summary" was the first to suspend, in 1763, in consequence of the death of its editor; the "Connecticut Gazette" survived until the next year. The latter was revived on July 5, 1765, by Benjamin Mecum; its final demise occurred Feb. 19, 1768, on the issue of the 596th number. The "Summary" was resuscitated and enlarged by a nephew of the original editor, and given the name of the "New London Gazette;" this was changed in 1773 to the "Connecticut Gazette," and as such continued to be issued for more than eighty years.

Journalism was first introduced into Hartford by Thomas Green. The first number of the "Connecticut Courant" was printed on Oct. 28, 1764; the present existence of this paper makes it a national landmark, there being only two newspapers published to-day in the United States that antedate its nativity even nominally, and it is the oldest of all with a continuous name and publication. The year preceding the suspension of the "Connecticut Gazette" at New Haven, the first number of the "Connecticut Journal and New Haven Post Boy" appeared, under the combined editorship of Thomas and Samuel Green. Though there were many changes in the proprietorship, its last issue was on April 7, 1835. Connecticut as a newspaper field attracted the attention of Alexander and James Robertson, who were engaged in journalistic enterprises in New York city; they formed a partnership with John Trumbull at Norwich in 1773, and began the publication of a weekly newspaper under the far-reaching and ambitious title of the "Norwich Packet and the Connecticut, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island Advertiser."

At the breaking out of hostilities with the British there were fourteen weekly newspapers published in New England. Of these, Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Norwich had one each; the latter town became the publishing center for the colony. Timothy Green, the New London printer, in company with Judah Paddock Spooner, had opened a rival printing establishment; this firm published in 1773 an edition of Watts' Psalms, also a "Manual Exercise." The Robertsons in 1776 sold their interests to John Trumbull, who changed the name of the paper to the "Connecticut Centinel." He published editions of special sermons, almanacs, and orations; his imprint appears in 1778 on the titlepage of Hubbard's "Indian Wars," and later on a work entitled "The Captivity of Colonel Ethan Allen;" also on school and hymn books. The New Haven enterprise requiring the personal attention of Mr. Green, his partner Ebenezeer Watson had charge of the "Connecticut Courant" until his death, which occurred in 1777; he was succeeded in the management of the paper by his widow, who was the first woman in America to edit a paper.

Peace was hardly declared between Great Britain and the United States, when new journalistic enterprises began to make their appearance in Connecticut, the population being of an enlightened and educated class of citizens; in 1785 there were as many newspapers published weekly in the State as in all the territory south of Pennsylvania. In the decade between 1780 and 1790, the most important undertaking in the journalism of Connecticut was made at Hartford, where in 1784 the first issue of the "American Mercury" appeared, under the editorship of Joel Barlow; Elisha Babcock was associated with him in the management of this publication, and the paper continued to be issued, under different owner-

ships for over half a century, but was finally merged with the "Independent Press."

There had been an attempt made in 1783 to launch a journal under the laudable heading of the "Freeman's Chronicle or American Advertiser;" but not receiving public support it languished and died in the first year of its existence. Besides those already mentioned, an attempt was made in 1794 to publish a semi-weekly called the "Hartford Gazette;" this proved another yearling. These projects completed the newspaper efforts in Hartford up to the close of the eighteenth century.

In the sister city of New Haven, the "New Haven Gazette" was started as a weekly in May, 1784; two years later, "Connecticut Magazine" was added to its title. Its seven years of existence were marked with various changes of title and proprietorship; lacking pecuniary support, it finally succumbed to the inevitable. An enterprising firm of publishers in 1788 began the publication of the "American Musical Magazine," but after issuing ten numbers it was discontinued. The last newspaper enterprise in the "City of Elms," prior to the opening of the nineteenth century, were the "Federal Gazette," a weekly devoted to the Federalist party, and the "Messenger," which survived about two years.

In other parts of the State, newspapers were established, of which we mention a few of the important ones. The "Middlesex Gazette" was started in 1785, at Middletown, and had an existence of nearly half a century. The first number of the "Litchfield Monitor" appeared in 1784, and the "Farmer's Journal" at Danbury in 1790. The "American Telegraph and Fairfield County Gazette" was started in 1790 at Newfield. Among the Norwich publications was the "Weekly Register," which blossomed into life in 1790, to die

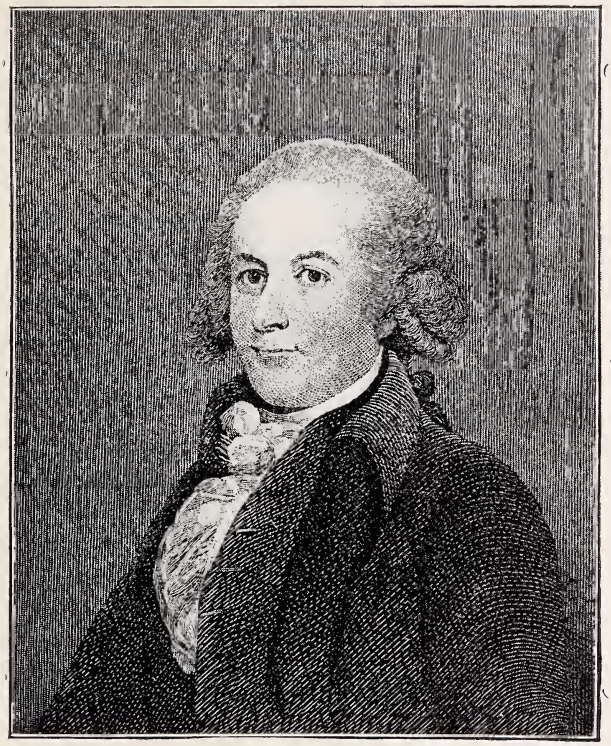
at seven years of age; its successor to claim public favor was the "Chelsea Courier," which name was afterwards changed to the "Norwich Courier." The "Weekly Oracle" and "The Bee" were short-lived journals published in New London; they expired about the end of the eighteenth century. The ambitious Norwich editor, John Trumbull, established in 1798 at Stonington Point a small-sized paper which he called the "Journal of the Times"; the following year it was enlarged, and the name changed to the "Impartial Journal." Notwithstanding its taking titles, it was not a recipient of public patronage, and collapsed about two years later.

The early colonial literature was mostly crude and formless, or imitative and pedantic. Its subjects were chiefly religion and histories of the Indian wars. The writings of the Rev. Thomas Hooker, which consisted exclusively of sermons, of which one hundred were published in England, were Connecticut's principal contribution to this period of American Literature. Her first secular writer and earliest poet was Roger Wolcott. A volume entitled "Practical Meditations" was published in New London in 1725; it contained a lengthy preface by Reverend Mr. Bulkley of Colchester, and a poem of sixty pages by Mr. Wolcott, the latter being a brief account of the agency of the "Honorable John Winthrop, Esquire, at the court of King Charles the second, Anno Domini 1662." There is nothing noteworthy in the shorter pieces of the book, nor can much be said of their literary merits. The political genius of this early rhymester descended to his grandson Oliver, who scribbled many poems, among which was one entitled "The Vision of Paris"; but proved his possession of common sense by retaining them in their original manuscript. His letters and State papers, which fill fifty

folio volumes, are deposited in the Connecticut Historical Society, and are documents of real value.

Connecticut, in the absence of anything worth calling a colonial literature, merely shared the condition of her neighbors, and for the same reasons. A new and mostly poor democratic society, with few independent incomes and no great scholarly foundations, engaged in rough material work, and cut off from the literary currents of the Old World and its leisured classes, produced few who had time to cultivate literary gifts, no sympathetic companionship or audience, and no market. An occasional "sport" might arise, a great natural litterateur like Franklin or a great thinker like Jonathan Edwards; but there could be no *class* of literary men or women.

Edwards was by far the greatest of all Connecticut's children since its foundation: one of the four Americans who as pure thinkers apart from literary or executive work, have overpassed the bounds of State, sectional, or even national fame and influence, and belong to the World. It is significant, and might give pause to those who unthinkingly parrot the sneers at the Puritan system that every one of these was the product of the "blue" New England order. Three were Massachusetts men—Benjamin Franklin, Benjamin Thompson, and Ralph Waldo Emerson, the fourth was Edwards, recognised even by Europeans as one of the great metaphysicians of all time. Worthy to stand beside Aquinas and Spinoza and Kant. His life was simple on the outside: the great events of such men's lives are internal, or the embodiments of unseen mental processes. Edwards remained twenty-three years in charge of a Congregational church at Northampton, Mass., and with a rudimentary flexibility of temper (or a little of that sense of humor which means a balanced



John Trumbull.

view of life) might have remained till his death. But to him his logic was no mental diversion, but the inexorable law of life *or death;* and the Sacraments were instruments and Signets of the Almighty, which it was simple blasphemy to use outside their assigned function or by others than their legitimate beneficiaries. The doctrinaire would not bend, the church would not alienate a large body of its helpers and sacrifice its potential members; and they parted.

Edwards penniless but undaunted, went to teach in 1750 among the Indians of Stockbridge. Doubtless he accomplished some good in that sphere; but his work for the world lay in the wonderful metaphysical treatises we owe to his enforced leisure and solitude, and which, in lack of money to buy stationery, he wrote on such odd scraps as he could find or save. Chief of these is his treatise on "The Freedom of the Will" one of the immortal classics of metaphysical speculation. As pure reasoning, no detail of its close knit fabric is open to assault. The conclusions which revolt the modern soul are due to the acceptance of theological *premises* no longer held valid.

Thence he was called to the presidency of the College of New Jersey now Princeton University. He was reluctant to accept the position, which involved duties and personal management for which, with his "flaccid solids and vapid fluids" he felt himself insulted. Fate was kind to him in sparing the trial. Two months later he died, at fifty-four. It is among the sardonic curiosities of heredity that his grandson was Aaron Burr.

The first signs of a new intellectual era showed themselves in the years between the fall of Quebec and the Revolution. Connecticut's first man of letters proper, John Trumbull, was a son of a clergyman of the same name; he was born in what

is now Watertown, April 24, 1750. He was a sickly child, carefully taught by his mother, a woman of superior education. His precocity was such that he passed the entrance examination to Yale College at seven, though he was not admitted as a student until six years later. In collaboration with Timothy Dwight, in his second year in college, he issued a series of essays modeled on the "Spectator." Two years later he wrote a satirical poem on the educational methods of the day, entitled "The Progress of Dullness," reminiscent of the "Dunciad." After his graduation he was tutor at Yale; was admitted to the bar in 1773, and finished his law studies in the Boston office of John Adams, afterwards President; and the next year began practice in New Haven. On the breaking out of the war, he became an active patriot. Trumbull's contributions to Revolutionary literature were an "Elegy on the Times," and his famous "McFingal," a close imitation of "Hudibras." The "hero" (or villain) was a supposable American Tory, and the poem resembled its prototype in being mostly disquisition, with little action; the tarring and feathering of McFingal answering to Hudibras' being put in the stocks. It had wit enough to save it from being a mere copy, however; some of its lines would not discredit its original, and are often quoted as belonging to that. The first part was written in 1775, and immediately published; its author removed to Hartford in 1781, when he completed the remaining cantos, and the epic was published in its entirety the following year.

Trumbull served from 1801 as Judge of the Superior Court, and from 1808 as Judge of the Supreme Court of Errors, until 1819, when he retired from the bench. Six years later he removed to Detroit, Michigan, where he died May 10, 1831.

The triad of American poets of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, John Trumbull, Joel Barlow, and David Humphrey, in conjunction with other writers, after the close of the war, wrote a series of poetic essays entitled "American Antiquities," pretended extracts from a poem which they styled "The Anarchiad"; it was designed to check the spirit of anarchy then prevalent in the United States.

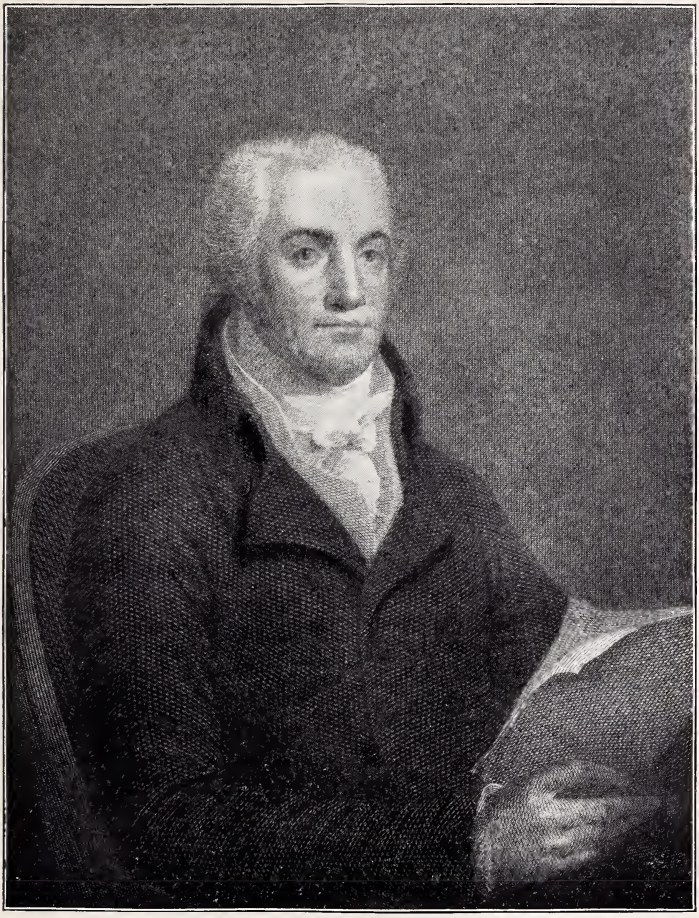
The cosmopolitan poet of Connecticut was Joel Barlow, who was born at Redding, March 24, 1754. His father was a farmer with ten children, of whom Joel was the youngest; there was enough money to give him a liberal education, and he entered Dartmouth in 1774, afterwards becoming a student at Yale and graduating in 1778. At the commencement exercises in that year he delivered an original poem entitled the "Prospect of Peace." He abandoned the study of law for theology, was licensed to preach, and became a chaplain in the army. While engaged in military pursuits he partially composed his celebrated poem, the "Vision of Columbus," which was an enlargement of his early effort. These two compositions were the foundation of the "Columbiad." At the close of the war he resumed the study of law, and settled at Hartford, where he engaged in editorial work, and published an edition of the "Vision of Columbus." He also revised Dr. Watts' version of the Psalms, adding several devotional pieces of his own. The following rhyme was occasioned by the meeting of Mr. Barlow and Oliver Arnold, a cousin of the traitor, in a book-store in New Haven; Mr. Arnold had gained a reputation for extemporizing verse, and Mr. Barlow desired a specimen of his art:

"You've proved yourself a sinful cre'tur,
You've murdered Watts and spoiled the metre,

You've tried the word of God to alter,
And for your pains deserve a halter."

Mr. Barlow relinquished his editorial duties in 1786, and opened a book-store in Hartford. The following year he embarked for England as agent for a land company. On the breaking out of the French Revolution he proceeded to France, where he became connected with the Girondists. On his return to England in 1791 he published "Advice to the Privileged Orders," also "A Letter to the National Convention" and "The Conspiracy of Kings"; these were in favor of the French Revolution, and made the author obnoxious to the majority party of England. Barlow returned to France, and actively engaged in the Revolution. While at Chambery he wrote the mock didactic poem called "Hasty Pudding," which is his one real literary claim to remembrance. He subsequently returned to Paris and withdrew from political affairs, shocked by the atrocities of the Revolution. The United States government appointed him in 1795 consul to Algeria, where he negotiated a treaty with the Dey. The following year he consummated a league with the authorities of Tripoli, by which all the American prisoners were released from captivity. He resigned his consulship in 1797 and returned to Paris, where he engaged in trade and amassed a comfortable fortune.

Disposing of his real estate in France, he returned to his native land; but his supposed authorship of the "Song of the Guillotine," in connection with the assistance he gave Paine in the publication of the "Age of Reason," caused him to be coldly received by the New England people. He therefore bought an estate in the District of Columbia, in the vicinity of Georgetown, where he built an elegant mansion, and gave



From the painting by Robert Fulton.

J. Barlow

it the name of "Kalorama." Here he revised the "Columbiad" in 1808 and published an *edition de luxe,* which excelled anything previously issued by the American press. He was engaged in gathering material for a history of the United States, when in 1811 he was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the French Court. On Oct. 12, 1812, he was invited to Wilno to hold a conference with Napoleon, who was retreating from Moscow. Caught in the snows and cold of the terrible Polish winter, with wretched food and accommodations, he succumbed to the hardships of the journey, and died on Dec. 24, at the obscure village of Czernowice, near Cracow. His figure remains prominent in American history, as much for what he was as for what he did.

David Humphrey, the son of Rev. Daniel Humphrey, the established minister of Derby for over half a century, was born July 1752 in that town, and graduated from Yale in 1771. He entered the army as captain of a Connecticut company of negro volunteers, and in 1778 was appointed aide to General Putnam, with the rank of major. Two years later he was made a member of Washington's staff, where he remained until the close of the war. Colonel Humphrey in 1784 went to France as secretary to the commission for negotiating foreign treaties; after two years abroad he returned to his native town, which he represented in the General Assembly, and made Hartford his residence. In 1790 he was appointed United States representative to the court of Portugal; after four years' residence at Lisbon he returned to America, and was sent as commissioner plenipotentiary to the Spanish court. His connection with the manufacturing interests of Connecticut will be dealt with in another volume of this work. He served as a brigadier-general in the war of 1812, and died at New Haven, Feb. 21, 1818. His writings consisted of

political tracts, patriotic poems, a memoir of General Putnam, and an elegy on the burning of Fairfield by the British; his miscellaneous works were published in 1804.

These were not the only ones stirred by the new spirit. Among others was Dr. Lemuel Hopkins, the projector of "The Anarchiad," first published in parts in the "New Haven Gazette and Connecticut Magazine." It was written in the style of a fable with the utmost license of parody and imitation, embodied the Federalist political views of the authors, and had an extensive circulation; much of the composition was by Dr. Hopkins. He was born in Waterbury June 19, 1750, studied medicine, and in 1776 began practice at Litchfield. He removed to Hartford in 1784, and passed his life as a physician and man of letters. He was one of the founders of the Medical Society of Connecticut. In personal appearance he was tall, lean, and long-legged, and uncouth, with large features and light eyes, which made him a striking spectacle. He was the author of a few short poems, the best known of which is an "Epitaph on a Patient Killed by a Cancer Quack." The use of an improper remedy for a hereditary pulmonary complaint caused his death in April 14, 1801.

There appeared in Hartford in 1791 a medley of burlesque and satirical pieces, which was given the name of "The Echo." Richard Alsop and his brother-in-law Theodore Dwight were responsible for its production; it ridiculed the bombast and bathos of the newspaper writers of the day, and caricatured the political doctrines and measures of the Anti-Federalists. It was entirely the work of its projectors, excepting that one number contained a few lines by Dr. Mason F. Cogswell, and parts of one or two numbers were by Dr. Lemuel Hopkins and Dr. Elihu H. Smith. A collection of these pieces, humorously illustrated, was published in

1807. The contributors to the "Echo," with the exception of Theodore Dwight, were all natives of Connecticut. Richard Alsop was born in Middletown Jan. 23, 1761; though a student of Yale College, he did not become a graduate, but engaged in trade. He occasionally devoted himself to belles-letters, and his work embraced a variety of subjects. He published his own French and Italian translations. He wrote "Monody on the the Death of Washington," in heroic verse, in 1800; "The Enchanted Lake, or The Fairy Morgana," was written in 1808. He died at Flatbush, New York, Aug. 20, 1815. He left a number of unpublished manuscripts, among them a poem of considerable length entitled "Charms of Fancy."

Elihu Hubbard Smith was born at Litchfield, Sept. 4, 1771. On graduating from Yale he studied medicine, and began the practice of his profession in New York city, in 1793. He lived in Wethersfield previous to locating in New York, and was the editor of the first collection of American poetry. He was associated with Dr. S. L. Mitchell in establishing the "Medical Repository" in 1793. He died in New York city, Sept. 24, 1798, a victim of yellow fever.

Dr. Mason Fitch Cogswell was born at Canterbury Sept. 17, 1761; he was the youngest and most distinguished member of the Yale College class of 1780. Studying medicine, he located in Stamford, but afterwards removed to New York city. Dr. Cogswell finally settled in Hartford, and became noted as a skillful surgeon; he died in that city, Dec. 17, 1833.

This aggregation of literary minds was known throughout the country as "The Hartford Wits." and made the city a recognized literary centre in that epoch.

Noah Webster, the great lexicographer and philologist,

was born in what is now West Hartford, Oct. 17, 1758. He entered Yale at sixteen, but his college course was interrupted by the disturbance of the current events of the Revolution. We find him in 1777 present at the surrender of Burgoyne; but the following year he resumed his studies, and received his collegiate degree. He removed to Hartford, having a monetary capital of one dollar with which to begin life; this was supplemented, however, by an indomitable will, a good education, a great power of work, and still greater independence of mind. Webster became a teacher in the public schools, and spent his leisure hours in the study of law. He was admitted to the bar in 1781; but his clientage not being remunerative, he opened a high school at Goshen, New York, which he called "The Farmer's Hall Academy." His practical work as a teacher showed him the defects of the existing text-books; he was always interested in philology and had ideas of his own as to mitigating the chaos of English spelling; and he thought this newly emancipated country ought to throw off the shackles of English orthography as it had of English political supremacy. He prepared the first part of a "Grammatical Institute of the English Language," which was published in 1783 at Hartford; this was followed by a second and third part, and by his American Spelling Book.

In 1788 he was connected with the editorial management of the "American Magazine," but the following year he returned to Hartford and resumed the practice of law. In this year appeared "Dissertations on the English Language," a series of lectures delivered by Webster in the American cities. He wrote essays on national subjects, and traveled throughout the States, to interest parties in the passage of a copyright law. During Washington's presidency Webster removed his

family to New York, and engaged in editing a daily newspaper called "The Minerva," also a semi-weekly entitled "The Herald"; these names were afterwards changed to "Commercial Advertiser" and the "New York Spectator." Returning to New Haven in 1798, he began the preparation of his first dictionary. His "Compendious Dictionary" was published in 1806; this was followed the next year by a "Philosophical Grammar of the English Language." The same year he began his great work, "A Dictionary of the English Language." His pecuniary means were limited, and to reduce his family expenses he removed to Amherst, Massachusetts, in 1812. He returned to New Haven in 1822, and Yale College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Civil Law.

He visited Europe in 1824 to obtain material for his dictionary, which was published in 1828 in two volumes; it was republished in England, and gained for its author a world-wide reputation. An enlarged edition was published in 1841. During nearly half a century Mr. Webster was engaged in lexicography; but he was no closet pedant. He practiced law, was a farmer, a legislator, and an academician. He was a prolific writer, an essayist and pamphleteer, and wrote books on political, economical, literary, historical, educational, and moral subjects. He died at New Haven May 28, 1843, leaving a precious legacy to his country and mankind at large. It has been said of him, "he taught millions to read, but not one to sin."

Another author of standard text-books was Nathan Daboll, who was born in Connecticut in 1750. He was famous as an educator, and published in New London "A School-master's Assistant," also a work on "Practical Navigation." He began in 1773 the annual publication of "The Connecticut

Almanac," one of the most interesting of Connecticut products; it is still issued at the same place by the fifth generation of Daboll's descendants, having never intermitted publication. This is unique in American history. Mr. Daboll died at Groton, March 9, 1811.

Connecticut had another son, Jedidiah Morse, who was the author of educational works. He was born in Woodstock, Aug. 23, 1761; graduating from Yale in 1783, he studied theology and was settled in 1789 over the First Congregationalist Church at Charlestown, Massachusetts. At the age of twenty-three he prepared the first geography published in America; this was followed by larger works of the same character, accompanied by gazetteers of the world. For thirty years Mr. Morse was without a competitor in his field; his works were translated into German and French. He published in 1804 "A Compendious History of New England," and in 1824 "A History of the American Revolution." He was an opponent of Unitarianism, which he combated sturdily; this opposition to liberalism in religion brought upon him a persecution that impaired his health, and in 1802 he resigned his pastoral charge. He died at New Haven Jan. 9, 1826.

The most noted early American traveler and explorer was John Ledyard, born at Groton in 1751. The loss of his father in early life caused his removal to Hartford, where he attended the public schools; he began the study of divinity, and was for a time a student at Dartmouth. He was obliged to suspend his collegiate course on account of poverty, and reached Hartford by way of the Connecticut River without a shilling in his pocket. At twenty he shipped as a common sailor for Gibraltar; he accompanied Captain Cook on his third voyage of discovery as a corporal of the marines, and

was present at the tragic death of that illustrious navigator. Ledyard returned to his native land in 1781, but the following year we find him in England, where he conceived the plan of journeying through northern Europe and Siberia, and crossing Bering's Strait to the American continent. Upon reaching the eastern shores of Asia, he found that the ice prevented navigation, so he retraced his steps to a Russian port in Siberia to await the coming of summer. He was seized by Russian soldiers, conveyed to the Polish frontier, and assured that if he returned to Russia he would be executed. After surmounting many obstacles, he reached England, and was induced to participate in an exploration tour through Central Africa. He proceeded to Cairo, and while making preparations to penetrate the interior country, he was attacked with a bilious fever which caused his death, Jan. 7, 1789. Ledyard's "Journal of Captain Cook's last Voyage" was published in 1781.

Aaron Cleveland, son of Rev. Aaron, was born in Haddam, Feb. 3, 1744; the death of his father deprived him of a college education, but he pursued his studies while apprenticed to a Norwich manufacturer. He was nineteen when he produced his first poem, "The Philosopher and Boy." He became a Congregationalist minister, and was located near Hartford. Several sermons and a few of his poems have been published. He died Sept. 2, 1815. He was the great-grandfather of President Grover Cleveland.

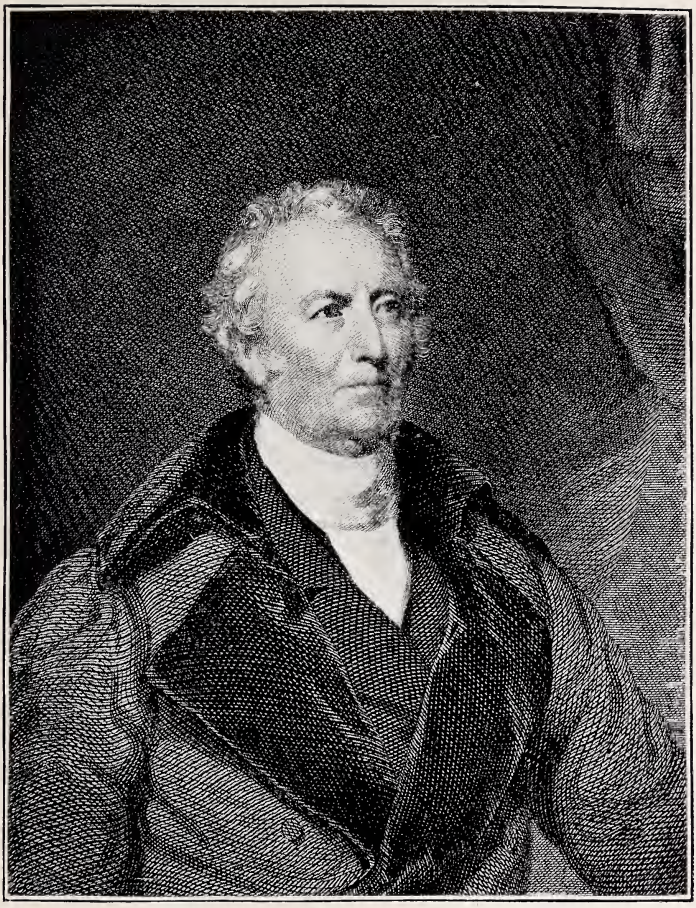
Among the contributions to the literature of the eighteenth century were Reverend Ezra Stiles's "The United States elevated to Glory," in 1783, and some ten years later "The History of the Judges of Charles II." Dr. Stiles left in manuscript forty-five bound volumes of diaries and writings, which are in Yale College Library.

There were other poetasters and versifiers in the State, whose compositions were published before the close of the eighteenth century, but their reputation was only local.

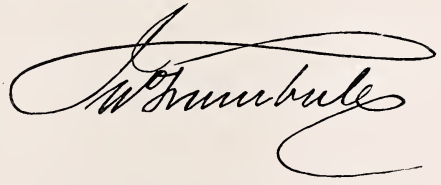
To encourage the literary aspirations of her citizens, the Connecticut legislature in 1783 granted a copyright to the author of any book or pamphlet, for fourteen years with a renewal for the same length of time.

The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences was incorporated in 1799 by Theodore Dwight and others; the membership was limited to two hundred residents of the State.

With this number of poets and men of letters, Connecticut in the eighteenth century produced but one artist. John Trumbull, the youngest son of Governor Jonathan Trumbull, was born at Lebanon June 6, 1756. While at Harvard he studied books on drawing and painting, and copied some of the old masters. He graduated at seventeen, and his father desired him to become a clergyman, but he resolved to devote his life to art. The breaking out of the Revolution caused him to exchange his pencil for a sword; in the summer of 1775 we find him adjutant of the First Connecticut Regiment, stationed at Roxbury, Massachusetts. At the request of Washington he made a drawing of the enemy's fortifications, which so pleased the commander-in-chief that he appointed him an aide-de-camp. He was commissioned major, and on being attached to the northern department of the army, was raised to the rank of colonel. There was some delay of Congress in forwarding his commission, which not being dated to suit Colonel Trumbull, he resigned. On abandoning his military career, he located at Boston, and resumed his art studies. In 1780 he sailed for London to place himself under the tuition of Benjamin West; he was



From the painting by Waldo Jewett.



arrested as a rebel and thrown into prison, charged with treason. He was confined eight months, and then released on bail upon consenting to leave the country. His first original picture, "The Battle of Cannæ," was completed soon after leaving college. After the conclusion of peace in November 1783, he returned to England to continue his studies under West. In 1785 he produced his picture of "Priam bearing back to his palace the body of Hector." The praise it won encouraged him to formulate a plan for a series of historical paintings, of the representative events in the American Revolution. The following year he painted his "Battle of Bunker Hill" and "The Death of Montgomery." He produced in 1787 "The Sortie of the Garrison at Gibraltar," for which he received $2,500. Trumbull returned to America in 1789, and painted portraits of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, also heads for his famous rotunda pictures at the National Capital. He was appointed private secretary to John Jay, and returned to England. He afterwards went to Paris and engaged in commerce. For eight years he was a special commissioner to carry out certain specifications in Jay's treaty with Great Britain. He returned to New York in 1804 and resumed his career as an artist, but receiving no encouragement, he sailed for England, where he remained until 1815. Locating in New York the following year, he was commissioned by the United States government to paint "The Signers of the Declaration of Independence," "The Surrender of Burgoyne," "The Surrender of Cornwallis," and "Washington's Surrender of his Commission," which employed him for seven years. He was one of the founders of the American Academy of Fine Arts, and served as its president for nine years. Being unable to dispose of most of his paintings at private sale, he presented them to Yale Col-

lege, the trustees agreeing to pay him an annuity of $1,000. This collection consisted of fifty-seven pictures, and was named Trumbull Gallery. His autobiography was published in 1841. His death occurred at New York City, Nov. 10, 1843.

CHAPTER XXI

Formation of Political Parties and End of the Century

THE Federalist party, for the first few years after the organization of the new government, was not properly a party, but a union of nearly all the intellect and business of the country against anarchy and consequent business demoralization. The only approach to it in American history since is the union of both parties in the East against the free-silver danger of 1896. Once the worst of the peril was over, parties resumed their natural division; of those who dreaded mob ignorance and shiftiness above all things, and those who dreaded class selfishness above all things. This was fairly accomplished by 1793, and Federalists stood arrayed against Republicans, soon to become Democratic-Republicans; even in 1792 the process was in clear evidence. But Washington was the only possible presidential candidate with both parties, and was unanimously chosen by the electors. John Adams, having the next largest number of votes, became Vice-President.

The second Electoral College of Connecticut consisted of nine members: Samuel Huntington, John Davenport, Jr., Oliver Wolcott, Thomas Grosvenor, David Austin, Elijah Hubbard, Thomas Seymour, Sylvester Gilbert, and Marvin Wait. Their ballots were cast for the Federalist nominees.

During the second Congress the House of Representatives was presided over by Jonathan Trumbull, whose election to the Speaker's chair was a deserved honor, conferred on him and the State he represented. He continued to hold the position until he was transferred in 1795 to a seat in the United States Senate.

On the resignation of the first Secretary of the United States Treasury in the early part of 1795, Oliver Wolcott, Jr., who had been auditor of the Treasury ever since its

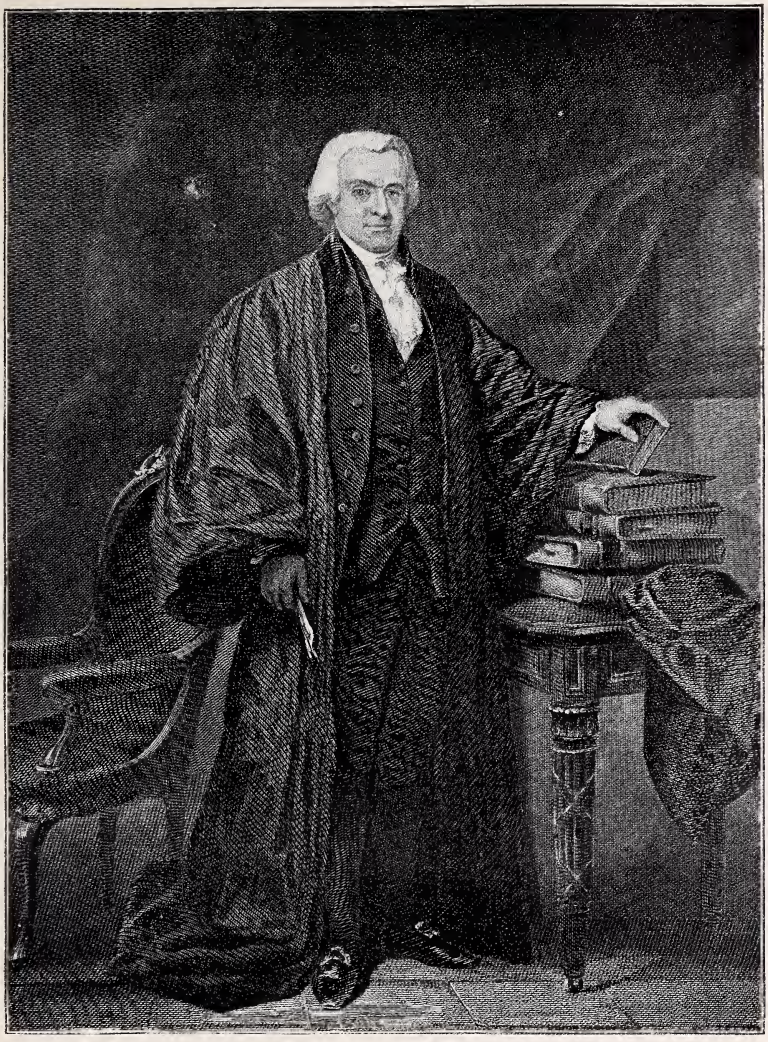
organization, was promoted to fill the vacancy. On the 14th of March, 1796, the President sent to the Senate the name of Oliver Ellsworth for Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The nomination was immediately confirmed, and Ellsworth was invested with the judicial robes of the court which he was so largely instrumental in creating.

By the end of Washington's second administration, great changes had occurred in the affairs of the country. At home, the public and private credit was restored; the country was at peace, with the exception of the trouble with France; American tonnage had doubled; agricultural products found a ready market; exports had increased from $19,000,000 annually to $56,000,000, and imports in the same proportion.

The election of 1796 showed signs of impending Federalist dissolution; but Connecticut still remained stanch in her old allegiance. Her third Electoral College had for members Oliver Wolcott, Jonathan Trumbull, Jeremiah Wadsworth, Heman Swift, Elizur Goodrich, William Hart, Elias Perkins, Jesse Root, and Jonathan Sturges. These cast their vote for John Adams for President;* but their ballots were divided for Vice-President. The regular Federalist nominee, Thomas Pinckney, received four, and John Jay five votes. There were eleven votes cast for Oliver Ellsworth, New Hampshire throwing six, Rhode Island four, and Massachusetts one.

There have been a number of fisticuff and pugilistic

*At this time the ballots were not specifically marked for President and Vice-President, the one who had the highest number being President—which produced the Jefferson-Burr Imbroglio in 1800, there being a tie. But it was understood in voting which candidate was designed to have each office, so that the expression in the text is legitimate.



Oliver Ellsworth

encounters in the halls of Congress; in the first breach of decorum a Connecticut legislator took an important part. To the sixth Congress Vermont sent as representative Matthew Lyon, a native of Ireland. He had founded a town, and was engaged in manufacturing and newspaper interests. Lyon in his maiden speech avowed his Anti-Federalist principles, and posed as a leader of the democracy, much to the disgust of his own partisans. During the early part of the session, he made disparaging and insulting remarks about the Connecticut members, asserting that they misrepresented their constituency. He admitted his acquaintance with people of that State, and remarked that he knew they fought well, as he had proven it to his personal satisfaction by encounters with them on their visits to relatives residing in the State he represented. This statement brought forth from Roger Griswold, one of Connecticut's delegation, the jocular remark, "Did you fight them with your wooden sword?" This was an allusion to the dismissal of Lyon from the Green Mountain Boys for cowardice. The belligerent member from Vermont then expressed a desire to remove to Connecticut, and edit a newspaper for the purpose of enlightening her misguided people. To this Griswold retorted, "You couldn't change the opinion of the meanest hostler in the State." Lyon emphatically declared that he could, and that he had serious thoughts of moving into the State, and fighting them on their own ground. Griswold then approached Lyon, and laying his hand on his shoulder, said with a sarcastic air, "If you go, Mr. Lyon, I suppose you will wear your wooden sword."

These taunts infuriated Lyon into spitting in his tormentor's face. A commotion ensued in the House, and a motion was made to expel Lyon, but it was defeated; his party friends coming to his assistance. The indignity rankled

in Griswold's spirit, though the disgrace was entirely Lyon's; and he soon afterwards attacked Lyon while he was occupying his seat in the House, beating him over his head with a cane, Lyon seized a pair of tongs lying near the fire-place, and a disgraceful combat ensued.

Griswold seems to have been the most expert fighter; he landed a violent blow on Lyon's face, which felled him to the ground; he then beat him shamefully, and dragged him around by his legs, until the Speaker stopped the outrageous affair by a call to order. Unsuccessful attempts were made to expel both members; but they were not even censured. The only reason for this undignified personal affair becoming historical is, that it was the first Congressional pugilistic battle.

The attempt of Genet of France to drag the United States into the fray with the foes of the French Republic, and make it a point of vantage for fitting out privateers for the Directory, discredited for the time the sympathizers with France. Even Jefferson was forced to disavow his feather-headed friend; but the Federalists were well understood in France to be the real authors of his suppression. Hence when they carried the election of 1796, the French Directory issued a decree granting the war ships of that nation the right to annihilate American commerce in European waters, and all Americans found serving on hostile armed vessels were to be treated as pirates. The Hamilton wing of the Federalists were glad of the opportunity at once to deal a blow at the hated French democracy, and to strengthen their own political position by a foreign war. They pushed forward the building of a strong navy, and carried on naval operations in the West Indies. They also passed an Alien Law, primarily to exclude foreign journalists who were galling them

by acrid and foul-mouthed attacks. This was accompanied by a Sedition Law, to close their opponents' mouths at home. Their efforts against France were helped by the exposure of the corruption of the Directory, which sought to obtain bribes from the American envoys to sign a treaty of peace. Presidents Adams was incensed into declaring that he would send no other representatives to Paris till he was assured of the good faith of the Directory; and it seemed that open war was inevitable. But he received private assurances that they were in a better mood, and somewhat frightened over the unlucky results of their attempted "graft"; and he was a patriot first and a party man afterwards, which can hardly be said of some of the other wing. Knowing that the other faction would oppose any attempt to come to terms with France, as depriving the party of its political capital, he sent over an envoy without consulting his Cabinet. The result was a furious break within the party ranks, Hamilton denouncing Adams without stint, and the two factions hating each other worse than either did the Republicans. This is usually held to have defeated the party in 1800; but an analysis of the vote shows that the result was probably inevitable in any case.

Connecticut's presidential electors were Jonathan Trumbull, Jonathan Ingersoll, John Treadwell, Tapping Reeve, Jesse Root, Matthew Griswold, Jonathan Sturges, J. O. Mosely, and Stephen M. Mitchell. The vote of the State was cast for John Adams for President, and Charles C. Pinckney for Vice-President. The retiring President had retained Oliver Wolcott, Jr., as head of the Secretary of the Treasury; on his resignation in the latter part of 1800, Samuel Dexter was appointed his successor. The vacancy thus

caused in the Cabinet was filled by the selection of Roger Griswold as Secretary of War.

At the opening of the nineteenth century, the Governor's chair was filled by Jonathan the second son of Connecticut's great war Governor. He was born at Lebanon, March 26, 1740. Entering Yale College at fifteen, he early exhibited large scholarly ability. After his graduation he settled in his native town, and soon afterwards became a member of the General Assembly. He was connected with that body at the breaking out of the Revolutionary War. He joined the American forces and was appointed Paymaster-General of the northern department of the Continental army. He held this position until he became Alexander Hamilton's successor as private secretary and chief of staff to Washington, serving until the close of the war. He held various political offices, which have been previously mentioned; and resigned from the United States Senate in 1796 to accept the position of Deputy-Governor of his native State. Upon the death of Governor Wolcott he became Governor *ad interim*.

Governor Trumbull was first elected by the people as chief executive officer of the State in 1798, and continued to fill the position by re-elections for twelve terms. This length of service exceeded that of any occupant since his father. He also proved himself capable of retaining the confidence of his fellow-citizens, transmitted to him from his father. Governor Trumbull's death ocurred at Lebanon, Aug. 7, 1809.

The population of the Commonwealth in 1800 was 251,002, which was a trifle over fifty persons to a square mile. In the number of her inhabitants, Connecticut was the eighth State in the Union; within her confines there was a little less than five per cent. of the entire population of the United States. The inhabitants, exclusive of the 5,330 free but

untaxed persons, and 951 slaves, consisted of 121,193 white males, and 123,528 white females. Of these, there were 37,946 males and 35,736 females under ten years of age; 19,408 males and 18,210 females between the age of ten and sixteen years; 21,603 males and 23,561 females between sixteen and twenty-six; 23,180 males and 25,186 females between the ages of twenty-six and forty-five; and 18,976 males and 20,820 females over forty-five years of age.

The most populous town in the State was Stonington, the least so was Union. The inhabitants were chiefly of English descent, though there were a few Scotch and Irish people.

Connecticut, in proportion to her size, was one of the most thickly populated States in the Union. It was laid out in small farms, ranging in extent from fifty to four hundred acres each. The State was crossed with innumerable highways. A traveler, even in the most unsettled parts, could not pass over two or three miles without striking a habitation.

It was a model of good husbandry, the industry of the people being exemplified in the abundant production of the necessaries and conveniences of life. The citizens were of a law-abiding disposition, but were great litigants, seeking the redress of the courts for most trifling disputes. This was simply turning the pertinacious defense of individual right into legal channels, instead of the personal brawls or mob-fights of earlier English times. In the thirteenth century, two men who fell out broke each other's heads, or got huge groups of supporters to fight their battles; in the eighteenth they went to law. The habit supported a number of lawyers, though the leading attorney of the Commonwealth did not earn over $2,000 a year. Political strife did not rage with as much violence as in the other New England States; public proceedings were conducted

with more calmness. The clergy, as the aristocratic body, acted as a balance-wheel to the democratic State government, and checked an overbearing spirit of republicanism.

Hartford and New Haven were the chief centres of the State, though hardly to be called cities in the modern term. They had less than four thousand population each; their mail and traffic were transported by semi-weekly stages. Each had a few shops stocked with miscellaneous merchandise, and were engaged in foreign commerce; though New Haven had the advantage over Hartford, whose trade was mainly confined to West India rum and molasses.

New Haven, with her Long Wharf, which was finished in 1802, sent ships all over the world. The richest cargo imported in the eighteenth century was valued at a quarter of a million, the duties being nearly $70,000. Increasing wealth refined and humanized New Haven as other places. The town paupers were no longer sold at auction; poultry and cattle were forbidden on her green; a modern cemetery was begun, and an attempt was made to obtain a permanent supply of water.

Hartford, as the head of navigation and consequent distributing point for the Connecticut Valley, had early drawn to itself a very able body of wholesale merchants, whose wealth was bequeathed and formed a notable mass of general refinement and predisposition to culture. From the nature of its early settlement, also, it had a strongly intellectual atmosphere. As early as 1774, a notice appeared in the Connecticut "Courant," advocating the establishment of a public library similar to one organized in Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin; and in 1799 The Hartford Library Company was incorporated.

The first evidence of the evolution of a State from a wil-

derness up to civilization, is the perfecting of the external and internal intercourse among the people. Connecticut and Pennsylvania were the pioneers in the improving of highways. In 1791-92 a turnpike leading from Norwich to New London was opened; in the period between 1795-1800 there were no less than seventeen turnpike companies incorporated, their franchises intersecting the State in every direction, bringing the inhabitants into close communion, and opening the markets of contiguous States to the Commonwealth.

The State was visited at various times during the eighteenth century, with earthquakes, violent storms, drouths, and epidemics; which to the God-fearing inhabitants prognosticated the Angel Gabriel's trumpet proclaiming the Day of Judgment. The most farcical of these has been perpetuated by a drollery entitled "Lawyers and Bullfrogs," better known as "The Frogs of Windham." The incident took place one dark and dismal night in July 1758. The inhabitants of the town of Windham were aroused at midnight by a terrific noise, resembling the yells and screeches of Indians; the alarmed people, not taking time to garb themselves, rushed from their dwellings; the valiant males armed to defend themselves against spiritual or earthly foes. Forming in battle array, the army advanced eastward, and making a reconnoissance, found the noise proceeded not from the heavens above, but from an adjacent pond; thus appeased, the valorous warriors retired. The rising sun disclosed the cause of the disturbance. The pond, on account of a severe drought, was reduced to a small stream running through its centre; the bullfrogs that had populated the watery area of the pond, owing to the scarcity of the water, had fought for the possession of this stream. Their battle cries had resembled in

sound the names of Dyer and Elderkin, two prominent attorneys of the town; hence the title adopted by the poetaster.

We read of storms when the hailstones were as large as goose eggs, and fell in such abundance that banks were formed five and six inches deep; (they still fall in every other town except where the reader of the account is located;) of earthquakes by which fissures several inches wide were made in the ground; chimneys toppled, walls thrown down, or rocks misplaced. Such shocks were perceptible in Boston and New York. Add the suffocating summer of 1798, when an epidemic of yellow fever raged in New London, and which was followed by one of the severest winters known to the oldest inhabitants; the dark day of 1780, when the fowls went to roost at noon, and candles were lighted during the day, causing the House of Representatives to adjourn; all these to the religion-tinctured souls presaged another blast from Gabriel's trumpet.

The close of the eighteenth century fairly corresponds with that of the *exclusive* dominance of country simplicity and Puritan habits and restrictions. Cities were growing, towns were advancing in wealth and knowledge, habits were becoming sophisticated, people were beginning to have time to play; amusements multiplied, and dancing, instrumental music, even card-playing ceased to be wholly barred out. The last remnants of the old fashion of "bundling"—much misunderstood, and always a resort of necessity from unheated houses—went out altogether. When there was but one warm room in the house, the kitchen with the great open fire, couples who wished to court apart from the rest of the family had no chance save by utilizing the girl's chamber, where they lounged on the bed with the coverlet drawn over them for warmth. This caused much less mischief than

might have been supposed: all wished to marry, and mostly could marry early; the records do not show that there were any worse results than with the modern apparatus of chaperons and duennas. And all usual customs seem natural and proper; the youth of both sexes were loth to give up the endearing privacy, and the mothers loth to shame their own past; the younger generation rebelled against the change, and even some of the elder had no great zeal for it. This feeling has been rendered in verse by a colonial poet:

"It shan't be so; they rage and storm,
And country girls in clusters swarm,
And fly and buzz like angry bees,
And vow they'll bundle when they please.
Some mothers too will plead their cause,
And give their daughters great applause,
And tell them 'tis no sin nor shame,
For we, your mothers, did the same."

But it had always disappeared in any locality soon after the introduction of civilized comforts, and at this time it lingered only in the more primitive districts; and the mockery of the outside world made it shortly impossible even there.

The pack horse and stage coach were to become relics of the past; to be superseded by the slow-moving canal boats and the rampant iron horse.

The hamlets, clustered around the village green, were to extend their boundaries, impelled by the advancing tide of manufactures, which were to make Connecticut's name familiar with the world. Ancient barbarities were to be condemned; human bondage gradually abolished; the branding

of criminals, the auctioning of the poor, the execution for legal offenses, were all to be modified.

Connecticut, in a word, was to keep pace with the vanguard of the modern world in humanity, refinement, and intellectual progress.